

MEMOIRES  
OF THE  
FAMILY  
OF THE  
**Stuarts,**

And the Remarkable Providences of  
GOD towards them;

IN  
An Historical Account  
OF THE  
LIVES  
Of those His MAJESTY's  
Progenitors of that Name, that were  
KINGS of SCOTLAND.

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*Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit  
Servitium: Nusquam libertas gratior extat  
Quam sub rege pio----- Claudianus.*

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T H E  
P R E F A C E.

**T**Hough by the Providence of him *by whom Kings reign*, the most Ancient and Unconquer'd Crown of *Scotland* hath continued by Succession (maugre all Opposition) in the Heirs of the Royal *Fergus*, the first King of *Scotland*; whose Inauguration was about 330 Years before the Incarnation of the Blessed *Jesus*: Yet some Translations there have  
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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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been, for want of Heirs Male ;  
and by inter-marriages some later  
Families of their Ancient and  
War-like Nobility have been grafted  
into that Royal Stock , and  
have thereby grown up to bear  
that Virgin Crown.

The *S T U A R T S* were the  
last that were Honour'd in this  
kind, of whom there have not  
been many Kings, yet all of them  
so Good, so Vertuous and Wise,  
that no History whether Sacred  
or Civil , can paralel the Succession.

The Various Dispensations of  
God

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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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God towards them (especially in their Dangers and Deliverances,) may in a great measure be seen in this ensuing Mirrour.

As for the Occurrences in Political Affairs, since the day of our happy Union of Crowns; in *James* the Sixth of undying Memory, though it be true, we may in them be furnish'd with more Instances of signal Preservations than from former Ages; and tho' God in our late miraculous Revolutions, as also in those extraordinary Qualifications conferr'd upon our Kings, adequate to the weight of a Prince's Crown, hath

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## The P R E F A C E.

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evidenc'd a special regard to, and approbation of Kingly Government ; Yet in regard our *English* Histories do abound with the Remarks and Memoirs of those times to supply the Defects of our Memories, it would appear an over-acted Design to lanch further into other Mens Labours , than what I have here offer'd to View, and would rather seem to Encumber than Accommodate the Age we live in.

If it shall appear strange to any that these Posthumous Sheets, She - Orphan - like be expos'd in the World without the Reputation

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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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tion or Protection of some Honourable Patron. It is not for want of Persons that would willingly and could truly have Dignified the Endeavours of our Deceased Authour by suffering their Names to be prefixed hereto; but because the Design having relation only to the Ancestors of our King, I feared an alienation of its Dedication might look injuriously upon the Royalty of his Sacred Majesty, to whom alone, with his most Illustrious Brother, I imagine the Right of Patronage doth belong: But so little is my esteem of my Self, and so great my Veneration for Royal Majesty, that

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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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that I dare not think my self  
worthy to offer any thing, (tho'  
the best I have) at his Feet :  
Which Consideration alone hath  
diverted me from the thoughts of  
a Dedication.

Yet I hope , in recommenda-  
tion of the Work, I may tell the  
World that the Author was a  
Native of *Scotland*; and so may  
be thought no Stranger to the  
History of his own Countrey :  
His early Merits advanced him  
at the Age of Twenty Three, to  
be Preacher at the *Cannigate* in  
*Edenburgh*, about the Year 1636.  
that by no worse interest than  
that



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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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that of the Learned *Spotswood* :  
Here he continued not long , be-  
fore the *Scottish* Covenant ( so  
Fatal to all Loyal and Religious  
Men ) forc'd him for the secu-  
rity of his Life and Loyalty, to  
retire from that Honourable and  
Advantageous Imployment, to *Lon-*  
*don* , whither the Storm pursu-  
ed him ; The *Presbyterian* Facti-  
on so Embroiling the Affairs of  
that Blessed Prince, *Charles* the  
First, ( whose Memory is too  
great and too good to be in-  
termixt with the common Histo-  
ry of the Age ) that they soon  
reduc'd him from his Princely  
Estate , wherein he was always  
ready

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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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ready and willing to afford Protection to his Friends, to so Low a fortune, that he, the best of Kings, could in his Three Kingdoms find no place of Safety or Defence for himself.

All that our Author could then acquire, was a presentation to a small Vicarage in *Norfolk*, as I suppose, in the King's hands, Sir *Thomas Corbet*, a Young Gentleman of an Ancient and Honourable Family the Patron of it, being then a Minor and his Majesty's Ward.

Here he lived in Repute with  
all

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## The P R E F A C E.

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all good Men for his Eminency in Learning, Loyalty, and Religion, until the extraordinary respects and affections of the honest and loyal Gentry provok'd the malice of the Rebellious Committee against him, and that place could afford him no longer security.

Then by the favourable Recommendation of Lieutenant-Colonel *Bendisb*, one of his Majesty's Deputy Lieutenants, and Alderman of *Normich*; a great lover of Loyalty, Religion, and Learning; (to whom greater Acknowledgements are due,) he was remov'd to *Kirkby Cane*, a Rectory in the same County,

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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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County, in the Gift of *Richard Cateline* Esq; a Gentleman whose Sufferings were too severe Testimonials of his Fidelity to his Prince, and his whole Life a Contexture of great Prudence, Piety, and Charity: Amongst the many blessings that attended his Life, it was not his least happiness that he was the Father of the present *Sir Nevil Cateline*, who was his Eldest Son that surviv'd the Calamity of the Civil War; a Gentleman he is whose Vertues are sufficient Indications of his Birth, he Inheriting not only the outward fortune, but also the internal Noble and Generous Qualifica-

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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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lifications of his Parents Minds ;  
and though he may seem to have  
stept before some of his Ance-  
stors in Titles of Eminency, yet  
none that rightly knows him, can  
think his Titles keep equal pace  
with his Merit.

Here he spent a dozen Years  
and upwards in a Retir'd and  
Pious Solitude, (living in great  
Regard and Esteem with his good  
Patron, and is not yet dead in  
the memory of his Son) until  
the happy Restauration of His  
Sacred MAJESTY, when True  
Religion and Loyalty might un-  
mask themselves, and with their  
Pri-



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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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Primitive Confidence, look into the World: Then having weather'd out the Storm, at the first appearance of the Long-benighted Sun, he resorted to *London* to Congratulate the Joyful Change in National Affairs; he had the Honour to kiss His Majesty's Hand, and receive some further assurances of his Bounty; but returning in a Pleonasm of Joy, he expir'd in the Extasie without any more marks of Róyal Favour upon him.

He left these loose and unpolish'd Papers behind him, doubtless design'd, tho' not perfected, to be offer'd to His Majesty, as a Congratulation  
of



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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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of his Return to his Three Kingdoms: But that opportunity being lost, I have since thought them no better than Useless Papers, until lately perusing of them, and Reflecting upon the Scepticism of some Politicians, and the Incredulity of all disaffected and discontented Minds, not to be convince'd of Day-light by the brightest Beams that ever darted from the Sun; I was induc'd to believe that the Idiom and Exuberance of the matter and Phrase being a little corrected, an Epitome might be extracted not undelightful nor unuseful for the

(b) present

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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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present Age : Being an Age wherein great Attempts have been made against the Succession so long uninterrupted ; and the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, though never so Sacred, have all been disputed, by Men of so loose and disloyal Principles ; that could they effect their Designs upon those Supports to an Hereditary Crown ; would not easily be persuaded to give over attempting till they have Extirpated, not only the Royal Line, but Royalty and Monarchy it self ; Nor can the most Christian Charity think otherwise, when we see many

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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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ny of those very Men to be great Sticklers, and all of their persuasion to be great Favourers of the Design; who thought they had once effectually done it before, and now by the Terrors of a guilty Conscience, are Stimulated to repent the Wickedness, not thinking themselves easie or safe under the protection of a Family which they have so Barbarously and so Inhumanly Affronted, tho' perhaps the greatest instance of Royal Clemency and Mercy that History affords: And certainly that single act of Barbarity committed against the Sacred Person of our

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## The P R E F A C E.

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late Martyr'd Sovereign , were there nothing else in their whole practice, is enough to fally the fairest *Fucus* to confute their best Arguments for the support of their pretended Zeal , and to render their very Principles Odious and Abominable to all reasonable Men in future Ages.

The Perusal of these few Remarks or Historical Observations , ( full of Loyalty and Impartiality ) together with a Reflection, not only upon the Restauration of His Majesty to the Honours and Dignities of His Three Crowns, but also upon those Deliverances which

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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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which bear a later Date and are fresh Instances of Mens Disloyalty, of our King's great Wisdom, and God's peculiar Providence over him: These things (I say) taken into Serious Consideration, may afford Men a Convincing Prospect of the Folly as well as the Impiety of all Attempts against a Throne of Divine Establishment, and that attested by so many miraculous Deliverances and Preservations: All that the People do is but to imagine a vain Thing. That God who hath set the Crown upon his Head will enable him to break all their Bonds asunder, and to cast



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## *The P R E F A C E.*

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cast away their Cords from him :  
Yea, he that dwelleth in Heaven  
shall laugh them to scorn, the Lord  
shall have them in derision.

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## **T H E P R A Y E R.**

**C**ontinue , O gracious God,  
to be thus Propitious to  
thine Anointed, our Sovereign  
Lord King **CHARLES**  
the Second , and grant that  
there may never want One  
of



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The P R A Y E R.

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*of that Royal Family to set  
upon his Throne so long as  
the Sun and the Moon endure.*

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THE

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THE PRAYER.

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of the Royal Family to be  
long to the throne  
the end of the world.

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THE

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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
ROBERT II.  
THE FIRST  
Of the Royal Family of  
*Stuarts* Kings of Scotland.

**R**obert the Second of that Name, descended of *Walter High Stewart of Scotland*, in the days of King *Malcolm*, came, in the Right of his Mother (Sister to King *David*, and Daughter to King *Robert Bruce*) to Sway the *Scottish* Scepter, and was the First of the *Stuarts* on whose head that unravished Crown was Set, about the Year 1371. and the 55th. of his Age.

In the beginning of his Reign a *French* Ambassadour sent by *Charles the Fifth of France*, arriveth in *Scotland* to Congratulate his coming

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to the Crown, and to renew the Antient League between the two Crowns of *France* and *Scotland*, and to invite the *Scots* in pursuance of an Article in the same League, to raise an Army against *England*, of purpose to force home some or most of the *English* Forces then making War in *France*, the Antient League is without scruple renewed; and the *Scots* soon prevailed withal to raise an Army against the *English*, being provoked by denial of Justice on the Murtherer of a *Scottish* Gentleman, contrary to the Laws Established for preservation of Peace amongst the Borderers; and being much more incensed by divers depredations, especially by the inroad made by the Earl *Percy* the Year immediately preceeding, contrary to the Articles of Peace concluded for fourteen Years between the two Kingdoms.

To preface the *Scottish* Expedition into *England*, *Alexander Ramsay* with forty choice Gentlemen, surpriseth *Berwick* Castle, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland* immediately Besiegeth them with 10000 well Armed men, after some few days valiant defence, the Castle is stormed, the Garrison wholly put to the Sword, *Ramsay* the Captain in Chief only preserved.

By this time the *Scottish* Army advanceth, and under the Conduct of *James* Earl *Douglas*, entereth *England* by the way of *Carlisle*, they plunder *Penrith* in the Fair time, and return very richly laden with Spoil, and with their Spoil carry home with them the Plague of Pestilence, which raged all the Kingdom over for two Years together, more furiously than ever in that Nation before.

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To avenge this mischief done, Fifteen Thousand *English* under the Conduct of General *Talbot*, are sent into *Scotland*, they spoil and plunder at pleasure, but returning laden with Booty, and Encamping nigh the Borders in a strait Valley, secure and expecting no Enemy, are suddenly surprised by 500 *Scottish* Horse, who giving them a Fierce Charge, put all in Confusion, some kill'd, divers taken Prisoners, the rest provide for their Safety by flight, leaving their Spoil behind them.

1381.

The *English* finding the Wars against both Kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland*, a Burden too heave, resolve, if possible, to make Peace with *Scotland*, to which effect *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, Uncle to the *English* King *Richard* the Second, is sent Ambassadour to *Scotland*, is honourably received and entertained by King *Robert*, *James* Earl *Dowglas* is appointed Commissioner to Treat with him; a Cessation of Arms is concluded for three Years, which King *Robert* caused inviolably to be observed, notwithstanding of a great Advantage given him, by a dangerous Rebellion then broke out in *England* by the instigation of one *Ball* a Priest, upon occasion of a four penny Poll imposed on the People.

1381.

King *Robert* Commandeth his Commissioner Earl *Dowglas*, to tender a Noble Entertainment to the Duke, the *English* Ambassadour, if it pleased him to reside in *Scotland* during the said Rebellion, or if it pleased him, in such a dangerous Storm to return to *England*, to tender to him the Service of a strong Guard of 2000 men



1383. then ready to attend him, *Dowglas* tendereth both : the Duke Acknowledging with all Thankfulness the Nobleness of the *Scottish* King, refuseth both and sets out for *England* : the Governour of *Berwick*, I know not why, denieth him Enterance, the Duke returneth to *Edenburgh*, resideth there, and is very Honourably Entertained, with frequent Expressions of far greater Civilities than could be expected.

The Three Years Truce determined in the Year 1384. *Archibald Dowglas* Earl of *Galloway*, Accompanied with *James* Earl *Dowglas*, *George* Earl of *Marse* or *Marches* besieges *Maban* Castle and after Nine Days Siege in the Cold of Winter, the Castle is delivered : the Earl of *Dunbar* likewise surpriseth a great Booty nigh *Piggin*, which he conveyed to be secured in *Roxborrow*, then in the hands of the *English*.

King *Richard* having Notice of the *Scottish* Stirs and Success, sendeth down a Potent Army both by Sea and Land, under the Command of the Duke of *Lancaster*, they spoil all to the very Gates of *Edenburgh*, they Enter the City, and in their Fury resolve to set it on Fire ; but the Duke remembring that it had been a Sanctuary to himself in a late Danger, Nobly preserveth it, and returneth with his Army.

1384. His Army returned, Earl *Dowglas* immediately marcheth with an Army, and regaineth all the Castles in the *English* Power, *Roxborrow* only excepted, for which he put very fair, but that a Burning Feaver of which he Dyed, prevented him.

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In the mean while a Peace is Concluded in France between all the Three Kingdoms of France, England and Scotland, the French undertake to publish this Peace forthwith in Scotland; but are Negligent in it, until the News of a great havock done in Scotland after the Conclusion of the Peace, by an Army of 10000 English Horsemen; and 6000 Bowmen, under the Earl of Northumberland and Nottingham, the Scots sensible of this Abuse refuse to hearken to Terms of Peace, notwithstanding the earnest desire of their King to embrace them; Dowglast, Lindsey, and Dunbar, privately withdraw from Court, raise an Army, and flying rather than marching, into England, consume all with fire and sword even to the Gates of New-Castle, return laden with Spoil, and proclaim the Peace.

In the Year following, the French Admiral 1385.  
Jean de Vienna, landeth in Scotland with about some Two Thousand Auxiliary Foot, and an Hundred Curasiers, with Six Months Pay.

King Richard of England having Notice hereof, and withal Intelligence of great Preparations making against him in France by Charles the Sixth the French King (which soon evaporated into Smoak, by the delays of the Duke of Burgundy) suddenly raiseth an Army of Sixty Thousand Foot, and Eight Thousand Horse, some say One Hundred Thousand Foot, and Ten Thousand Horse, some Three Hundred Thousand of both, and in great Fury marcheth into Scotland, burneth and killeth all along Forty Miles, without respect of Place or Person: Edenburgh and

*Melrose*, both Consumed by Fire, King *Robert* thinking it no way safe to give Battel to so great an Army, sendeth an Army into *Cumberland*, where they freely Wast and Spoil all.

King *Richard* not daring to march beyond the *Scottish Frith*, as the Duke of *Lancaster* Advised him, ( whom he therefore Suspected of a Traiterous Design against him ) nor to leave the Sea Coast (having all his Stores of Provision from his Navy then attending him on the *Frith*) and the Winter then drawing on, resolveth rather to return home by the way of *Berwick*, than with the hazard of all, by reason of Cold and Hunger, to Pursue the *Scots* in *Cumberland* : which the *Scots* perceiving, withdraw their Army at their own convenience, and return no less laden with Spoil than the great Army of the *English*; thus two Armies great enough are raised, invade other Nations, and return without fight one of another, the People ( the common sufferers in such broils ) sustaining the loss.

King *Robert* knowing that the *English* could not return in the Winter Season, sendeth his Army to reduce *Roxborough*, then in the hands of the *English*, strongly Fortified and well Garrison'd, the Siege being formed, the *French* crave the Possession and Government of the Town, when regained, ( the *Scots* peremptorily refuse, telling them plainly, their Service deserved no such Reward as so strong a Garrison; the Possession whereof should enable them to become at pleasure, Arbitrators both of War and Peace :  
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the Siege breaketh up in discontent, the *Scots* weary of the Insolence and grievous Plunderings of the *French*, send them fairly home, retaining the Commander in Chief until reasonable Satisfaction made for the wast done by his Souldiers.

King *Richard* of *England* now returned home, and his great Army disbanded, behold a Cloud appeareth, which breaketh out into such a storm as in the end proved his Ruin.

Whilst all things are in confusion in *England*, the *Scottish* Nobility unwilling to loose the opportunity, cry out for a Vindictive Army to be raised to revenge King *Richard's* last years inhuman Cruelty, the good King touched with a fellow-feeling of King *Richard's* Sufferings, choosng rather to bear the wrong done, than to wound the afflicted; sheweth himself very averse to the Counsels of his Nobility; which his Nobles perceiving, resent it mote than well beseeming them, and privately contrive an Army, without the knowledge of their King, with which they march into *England*: one part of their Army marcheth by the way of *Carlisle*, under the Conduet of two of the King's Younger Sons, the Earls of *Fife* and *Straern*, the other by the way of *Berwick*, under the Command of *James* Earl *Dowglass*. 1386.

The first Army spoileth the Countrey without opposition, and returneth with Spoil enough, bought at a cheap rate. 1387.

The second hath not the like fortune, tho' it marched with such hast and secrecie, that the smoak it raised in the Conflagration of Towns and Villages was its first Discovery; having spoiled the Bishoprick of *Durham*, Earl *Dowglass* resolveth to Attempt *New-Castle*, the *Percies* ( in those days the most Valiant Family England had ) draw their Forces thither for its Defence; some light Skirmishing there was for three days together, the two Commanders in Chief, *Dowglass* and *Piercy* think it worthy of their Fame to try their single Valour in view of both Armies; which accordingly they did, with incredible Gallantry on both sides, *Percy* is at last dismounted, *Dowglass* who Thirsted not after Bloud but Honour, as a Noble Cavalier, doth not offer one blow to his dismounted Enemy, layeth only hold on his Spear Saying, *My Lord your Spear shall home with me as the Trophée of this Noble Encounter* : and with these words Retreateth to the Van of his Army. Next day after, *Dowglass* draweth off the Field, and marcheth to *Otturburn* some Eight Miles from *New-Castle*, where contrary to the Advice of his Council, (his Army being inferiour in number by one half to the *English* ) he stayeth some three days attending Earl *Percy* his rescue of his Spear; *Percy* to regain his Honour, resolveth to Fight him, contrary to the Advice of all his Council too : who presumed ( as they had reason ) that *Dowglas* so Discreet and Wary a Souldier, would not hazard to give Battel to an Army so much exceeding his Number as two to one, unless he had some considerable



considerable Forces laid in Ambush to insnare them. The two Armies the one not above Five Thouland, the other not under Ten Thousand, joyn Battel in the Evening, and with various and doubtful Success, continued Fight almost the whole Night, by the benefit of the Light they had from the Full Moon: at last the Scots gave ground, which by the Valour of two *Heburnes* both *Patrick* by Name, was quickly regained, *Dowglass* Chargeth so desperately with two Attendants only, *Hart* and *Glendimung*, that having evidenced incredible strength both of Spirit and Body, he falleth under the burden of many wounds, before his Forces were able to take him off, his Body is rescued when it was too late: and being ready to breath out his last when they found him, some of his dearest Friends Ask him how he did, to whom he Answered with marvellous good chear: *I am well and in a good condition, I now Dye as almost all my Ancestors have done, in the Bed of Honour, some things only I Crave of you my Noble and Dear Friends, which I desire to be performed as you Love and Honour me; First, That my Death be no Discouragement to you. Secondly, That you Conceal my Death, during the time of the Battel both from Friends and Foes. Thirdly, That you suffer not my Standard to be overthrown. And Lastly, That you would Avenge my Death. These things if you perform I have my desire, and in hope thereof I bear all other things, and my present Fate with a good heart.* With these words (wherein he shewed himself a Souldier) he takes leave of them, and they of him, and having covered his

1390

his Body from the sight of the Souldiers; they advance his Standard, and Charge with the greater Fury, crying out *A Downglafs! A Downglafs!* the *English* are forthwith put into great disorder, the Earl *Percy* is taken Prisoner, and in the same Charge his Valiant Son too, being dangerously wounded: some Nineteen hundred *English* are slain, some Fourteen hundred are Prisoners whereof most wounded, and to the *Scots* it was not a dry Victory.

The next day the Bishop of *Durham* coming up with some Auxiliaries, the *English* Rally again, and resolve to give Battel, the Army being again made up Ten Thousand Men, the *Scots* making vertue of necessity (there being no possible safety for them to endeavour an Escape) resolve to stand to it, under the Command of the Earl of *Murray*. The Bishop advancing *Murray* (having first taken an Oath of all the Prisoners that they should remain true Prisoners, though their friends should rescue them by strength of Arms) is ready to receive him, and commandeth the Soldiers to wind their Horns (each Soldier having about his Neck an Horn larger than our ordinary Harvest Horns, the Noise whereof was so great, and the View of the dead Corps slain over Night so terrible, that the Hearts of the raw and new raised Soldiers began to fail, the Bishop is forced as his Safest course, to retreat into their Quarters from whence they came without attempting any thing; the *Scots* are no less glad (being sufficiently wasted and weary, to look homeward.

*Murray*



## The Life of Robert II.

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*Murray* dismisseth *Percy* the Younger upon his Parole, above One Thousand Common Soldiers are set at Liberty, the Earl himself and about Four Hundred of the Chief are carried Prisoners into *Scotland*.

The Joy the *Scots* had in this Victory which happen'd *July* 19. 1390. was wholly swallow'd up in the Death of the dougheir *Dowglas*, a very noble Cavalier indeed, whose Body was Interred at *Melrofs* with the greatest Evidences of Sorrow that could be.

Soon after Dyed in Peace the Good and Peaceable King *Robert* (a general Peace being concluded in *France*, *England* and *Scotland*, for certain Years.) the Seventy Fourth Year of his Age, and Nineteenth of his Reign, a good Man, and a good King, a great Justiciary, an Encourager of Virtue, a Suppressor of Vice, especially of Theft and Robbery, stedfast in his Word, fortunate in his Wars, tho' by reason of his Age and Natural Averseness to War, he seldom or never Engaged in Person.

He had two Wives, the one *Elizabeth* Daughter to Sir *Adam More*, by whom he had three Sons, *John* Earl of *Carist*, *Robert* Earl of *Say*, *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan* and *Badgenoch*: the other *Enfence* Daughter to *Hugh* Earl of *Ross*, by whom he had two Sons, *Walter* Earl of *Straberne*, and *David* Earl of *Atbol*, and one Daughter *Enfence*, given in Marriage to *James* Lord *Dowglas*, Son to *William* Earl of *Dowglas*.

1390.

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ROBERT III.

**J**OHN Son to King *Robert*, Succeeded his Father, and began his Reign *Anno 1390.* who immediately changed his Name, choosing to be called by the Name *Robert*, as an Auspicious Name, the former two *Roberts* Kings of that Nation, being men eminent in Vertue, and prosperous in Atchievements.

He came to his Crown in a time free of Wars from abroad, but full of Jars at home, by the unquiet and ravenous disposition of his Nephew *Duncan*, Son to *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*, who having Abased himself to be Captain of a Rebellious Rout of Robbers, spoyling and plundering divers Places, especially in *Angus*, was at last, not without some Blood shed, Suppressed by the industry of the Earl of *Craford*.

Soon

Soon after a dangerous feud fell out between two Great and Populous Families in the North, for Reducing of whom, were sent *Thomas Dunbar* Earl of *Murray*, and *James* Earl of *Craford*, who perceiving the great mischief likely to attend their Endeavours of a forcible Reducement, contrived a more subtle way to quiet them, after a representation made to the Heads of those Clans, a part of the danger of their mutual Fewds, and of the Kings Wrath against both, they Advise them to conclude their Fewds as the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* did at *Rome*, by the Choice not of three, but of three hundred on each side, to Fight, Armed with Swords only, in the sight of the King and his Nobles; whereby the Victor should gain Honour, the Vanquished safety from further Punishment, and both regain his Majesties Favour, whereof they gave them full assurance; the Proposition is embraced on both sides of *St. John's Town*, Mounts raised, and Galleries made for the accommodation of the Spectators, the Combatants are chosen, and on the day appointed, together with a multitude of beholders, all of them appear on the place, only one through fear, privately withdrew himself, this putteth some delay to the Encounter, the one party looking upon it as a dishonour to Fight with the other wanting one of their Number: the other Party not finding one who would Engage himself to make up their Number, desire one of the Three Hundred to be put aside, but of all that Number, not one could be induced to withdraw, accounting it an indelible

Disgrace

## *The Life of Robert III.*

35

disgrace to be shuffled out of such a choice Company of Valorous men; at last an ordinary Tradesman tendereth his Service, desiring no greater Reward than one single piece of Gold in hand, as an honourable badge of his Valour, and an Annuity of a small Sum for Life, should he survive the Conflict, his Demands are soon granted, and immediately beginneth the Conflict with as much Fury as the height of Wrath, the insatiable desire of honour, and the fear of shame more than death could produce, to the horreur and amazement of the Spectators, whose hearts trembled within them to see (as indeed it was an horrid Sight to behold) such a rueful Sight of Furious men butchering one another, and observed it was by all, that of all the Combatants none shewed more, shall I call it Valour, than the Tradesman did, who had the good Fate to survive that dismal day, and on the Conquering side too, whereof only ten besides himself outlived that hour, to partake with many ghastly wounds the honour of the day, the vanquished are killed on the place, all to one, who perceiving himself left alone, and being without wounds, he skippeth into the River, by which means none of the surviving Victors being able to follow him by reason of their wounds, he makerh a fair Escape with his Life, thus the Heads and most turbulent of both Clans cut off, their retainers are soon perswaded to Peace, and for many Years after live quiet enough; this Fight hapned in the Year 1396.

1396.

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1396. In the Year 1398. King *Robert* Created his Son *David* at the Eighteenth Year of his Age, Duke of *Rothefay*, and his Brother *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, the first Honour of this kind bestowed in that Kingdom. The same Year he established his Son *Robert* Governour of the whole Kingdom, preferring the quiet of a private Life to the daily Troubles which attend a publick Employment, tho' sweetned with many honours and outward respects.

- The Year following being the First Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth of *England*, some unhappy seeds of Jarrs between the two Kingdoms were scattered by *George Dunbar* Earl of *Merse* : the Daughter of the said Earl being espoused to the Duke of *Rothefay*, and a great part of her Dowry payed ; *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglass* Excepteth in Parliament against the Espouals, as done without Consent of the Three Estates, and propounded in Parliament the Marriage of his own Daughter, and with her a greater Dowry, the Parliament approveth well of the Match : and *Robert* Duke of *Albany* prevaieth with the King to make void the first Espoual, and to accept the tender made by the Earl of *Dowglass*, both which being accordingly done, the Marriage of the Earl *Dowglass* his Daughter to the Young Duke is Solemnised by consent of Parliament.

1400.

The Earl *George* resenteth this as a wrong done to his Family, expostulath the matter with the King, and remanded his Daughters Dowry, whereunto present Satisfaction not being made, the

the Earl withdraweth from Court, breathing out Revenge, and immediately flyeth into *England*, where he entereth into league with Earl *Percy*, *Dowglas* his sworn Enemy; and with some Force obtained from him, he returneth into *Scotland* and spoileth all the Lands in the *Mense* belonging to Earl *Dowglas*; King *Robert*, provoked with Indignation, proclaimeth him Traitor, and dispatcheth an Herald to King *Henry* the 4th. of *England*, to require the delivery up of the fugitive Earl to Justice: King *Henry* pretendeth faith given to the Earl for Protection, and upon that account refuseth King *Robert* his demand; King *Robert* resenteth this as a breach of the Peace concluded for seven years in the days of King *Richard*, not yet expired; and accordingly his Council declareth it; and for this and many outrages and detestations committed by *Henry Percy* the younger, and by the fugitive Earl; proclaimeth War against King *Henry*.

King *Henry* thinks it his wisest course to prevent him, and forthwith marcheth into *Scotland* with a very potent Army of Horse and Foot, entereth the City of *Edenburgh* and layeth Siege to the Castle; Duke *Robert* then Governor of *Scotland*, prepareth for its relief, but so slowly, that every man suspected him to have some sinister design in it; King *Henry* finding the Castle impregnable, being garrisoned with men of honour and integrity (to whom the *Macedonian* As could have no access, though some not long since could receive his leading)

1400.

ding) raised his Siege and returned to England.

Henry Percy and the fugitive Earl continue their plundering incursions, for repressing of whom several small Parties were sent, to small purpose; at last by the command of the Governor, *Archibald Earl of Douglas* (Son to the late Earl of the same Name, so much renowned) marcheth in person against them, accompanied with divers of the Nobility, and advanceth with his Army to the very Gates of *New-Castle*; *Percy* the younger, and the fugitive Earl draw up their Army against him, and give him battel nigh *Hemeldon*; the Earl *Douglas* after a most furious conflict, is at last overthrown, divers of the *Scottish* Nobility are slain, many taken Prisoners, and with them the Earl himself with the loss of one of his Eyes; *Percy* pursueth his Victory, entereth *Scotland*, and having done some spoyl in *Trivodale*, returneth to *England*, and prepareth for a Rebellion against King *Henry*: the Earl *Douglas* is earnestly solicited by him to joyn with him in his design, with promise of freedom; *Douglas* embraceth the motion, and with some others of the *Scottish* Prisoners performeth most gallant service at *Shrewsbury* battel; contemning all others, he bendeth himself against the person of the King only, he dismounteth first one, then another, then a third, and all in the habit of the King; (King *Henry* having clothed some gallant men in his own habit of purpose to encourage his Soldiers at the sight of their brave deportment) *Douglas* admiring

admiring from whence so many Kings should come, rusheth himself into the midst of his enemies, behaving himself with incredible bravery; but at last the victory falling to the King, *Dowglas* grievously wounded is taken Prisoner, the King very nobly taketh care of him, causeth his wounds to be cured by the best of his Chirurgions, admitteth him to his presence, highly commendeth his valour, accepteth of his ransom, and granteth him liberty to return to his Country where he was received with no small Joy.

1403.

This storm over, Duke *Robert* wholly bends himself to make away the whole off-spring of his Brother the King, of purpose to make way for his own to come to the Crown: a fair opportunity offering it self to begin his work, *David* the elder of the King's Sons giveth up himself wholly to his lusts, ravishing both Virgins and others, contemning all admonitions of his good Father, would not be reclaimed: The good King much afflicted by the dissolute life of his Son, committeth him to the counsel and care of Duke *Robert* the Governor; who very glad of the opportunity to commence his Traiterous design, chearfully snatcheth his prey into his Clutches and resolving to take a short course to reform his manners by the ruine of the man, carrieth him along with himself to *St. Andrews*, from thence to *Faulkland*, where he coops him up in a loathsome Dungeon with a design to destroy him, by the cruel pinches of hunger; which had been speedily done, but that his mi-



M04.

ferable Life Was preserved for a Season by the compassion of two tender-hearted Women; the one a Virgin, Daughter to the Governor of the Castle, who as she came into the Garden, privately conveyed under the covert of her Apron, some thin Oaten Cakes, which she gave him through a Cranny, the only conveyance of light into the Dungeon: The other a poor neighbouring Woman, who gave Suck, and by her Breast-milk milked into his mouth, refreshed him a little. The Duke, his merciless Uncle admiring that he heard no tidings of his death, appointed a secret Watch about him, the good Women are discovered, apprehended and punished, the poor Prince now left without all manner of relief or hope of refreshment, having eat much of his own Flesh and many of his Members, miserably perished in the extremity of Hunger; a great evidence indeed of God's anger against his Lustful youth, but no less evidence of a cruel and barbarous heart in the merciless and inhuman Uncle.

This Cruelty is for a time concealed from the good King, at last Time revealeth it, not without some indignation of the Author: The Duke is questioned, but by a cowardly, if not traiterous Jury pack'd by himself, acquitted; the poor distressed King, praying to Heaven for a Vengeance upon them and all their Posterity who were guilty of that horrid Murder; the Duke to gloss all the better, draggeth some to Prison, Flagitious men indeed, but altogether innocent of this Crime, condemneth  
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and executeth them as Murtherers of the Prince, palliating one wickedness with another, as many other wicked men have done: The good King solicitous for his onely Son now remaining, resolveth for his greater safety, to send him over to *France*, to be educated in the Court of *Charles* the Sixth, the French King, and commendeth him to the safe conduct and oversight of Lord *Henry Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney*; he setteth Sail from the *Basse*, and passing by *Flamborough*-head, a Storm ariseth and forceth the Ship into Harbour; the Prince afflicted with Sea-sickness, goeth on Shore, is apprehended by the *English*, and sent Prisoner to King *Henry* of *England*, who notwithstanding of the Mournful Letters of the afflicted King his Father (sent up of purpose some weeks before, to prevent the obstruction of his Journey,) and contrary to the Advice of the most of his Council, pleading for his Liberty, detaineth him Prisoner. This hard measure is in great measure recompenced by the liberal Education he gave him, whereby he became the most Learned Prince of his time; the sad news of his Imprisonment brought to his still afflicted Father (for the loss of his eldest Son) as he sat at Supper, cut him to the Heart, and oppressed with Grief, he falleth down dead, his Company about him in vain seeking to recover Life in him, they carry him to his Chamber, where his Spirits revive a little; but abstaining from all manner of nourishment, after three days abstinence he departeth this Life, oppressed with two cruel tyrants, Hunger and Grief,

1406.

in the 16th. Year of his Reign, *April* the First, 1406: A Prince of a very proper and proportionable Person, a Good man and a Meek, not furnished indeed with Austerity, and such like qualities as might have rendered him more fit, than in truth he was, to Govern a People so unlike himself in Conditions.

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**K**Ing *Robert* departed this Life, his Son *James*, Prisoner in *England*, is Proclaimed King of *Scotland*, and his Uncle *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, continued by Act of Parliament in his Government; at this time a sweet calm of Peace continued between the two Kingdoms above twelve years together, a great blessing to both Nations.

In the mean while, a black Cloud appeareth in the North of *Scotland*, *Donald* Lord of the Isles pretending the recovery of his Lands in *Ross*, which the Governor kept from him by a trick of Law, Invadeth *Ross*, from thence marcheth into *Murray*, from thence into *Buchan* and so to *Aberdeen*, doing much Mischief

1411,

all along as he went. To stop this Current, *Alexander* Earl of *Marre*, and others of the Nobility, advance against him with such Forces as could be raised on the sudden, both Armies Encounter at *Harlaw*, a fierce Battel continueth for many hours, with such slaughter on both sides, that at Night, the darkness whereof was the first commander of Cessation, each Army thought it self overcome; no man appearing next day morning to claim the glory of the Victory, onely the poor Village *Harlaw*, where the Battel was, is famous from it to this day.

1419.

This Rebellion over, the *Dauphine* of *France* sendeth an Ambassadour to *Scotland* to demand Assistance against the *English* (according to their ancient League) then warring in *France*, declaring with a sad Narrative, that himself was disinherited, and the *English* King *Henry* the 5th. Married to his Sister the Lady *Catharine*, declared Regent of *France* in present, and Heir apparent to the Crown; with whom likewise the Duke of *Burgundy* had joyned his whole Force; this pitifull Letter soon quickened the *Scottish* Nobility, dreading the effects of King *Henry* his Greatness, an Army of 7000 resolute and stout men are sent immediately over into *France*, under the Conduct of *John* Earl of *Buchan*, *Archibald* Earl of *Wigton* Son to *Archibald* Earl *Douglas*, with whom were divers Persons of Quality; all safely arrive, and are immediately sent by the *Dauphine* towards *Turon*; the Duke of *Clarence* Brother to the *English* King, well nigh surpriseth them in their way, they take the Alarm nigh

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*Bergie*, and on Easter-Eve they give Battel to the *English*, fought with great valour and various fortune on both sides, at last the Duke of *Clarence* is dismounted, his whole Army routed, 2000 slain on the spot, amongst whom were the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Kime*, the Lords, *Gray* and *Ross*.

Many Prisoners likewise taken, whereof divers Persons of Quality, as the Earls of *Huntington* and *Somerſet*, and others. The Earl of *Salisbury*, a man of singular vertue and valour, endeavourerh to repay this loss, but could effect nothing save the recovery of the dead Body of the Duke of *Clarence*, which he afterwards sent over into *England*.

After this Victory the *Dauphine* createth *Buchan* Constable of *France*, one of the highest Preferments in that Kingdom.

In the same Year 1420, *Robert* Duke of *Albany* departed this Life, and his Son *Mordake* established in his place, *Buchan* returneth from *France*, and is immediately recalled; he arriveth at *Rocheberr*, accompanied with *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas*, and Five thousand Auxiliary Foot; the *Dauphine* much cheared up at their arrival, receiveth them with ample Gratulation, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, is sent over from *England*, much about the same time, with 4000 Horse and 10000 Foot, and soon after King *Henry* himself arriveth, and with him *James* King of *Scotland*, of purpose, by his presence to withdraw the *Scots* from the *Dauphine*, or at least to render them the more suspected to him: but he is disappointed

1420.



pointed in both, the *Scots* unanimously declaring that they could not render whilst a Prisoner, the Obedience, otherwise due to him.

Soon after both the *French* and *English* King depart this Life, *Henry* the Sixth of *England* about Eight Months old, is Proclaimed King of *England* and *France*, *John* Duke of *Bedford* appointed Regent of *France*.

The *Dauphine* at the same time Proclaimed by his Adherents, King of *France*, by the Name of *Charles* the 7th.

The Regent advanceth against him with a powerful Army, the Duke of *Alençon* encountereth him. *Charles* himself is with general consent and unanimous request of all his Friends desired to withdraw, and not to hazard his Person, the miscarriage whereof was an apparent ruine of them all, and giveth him Battel not far from *Vornuil*. The Fight continued very fierce for some hours, at last the *English* obtain the Victory, 4000 *French* and *Scots* killed, amongst whom were *John* Earl of *Buchan*, *Archibald* Earl *Douglas* his Son, the Earl *Wigton*, and divers other eminent Persons; the Duke of *Alençon* and many great ones are taken Prisoners: a great Victory, and bought at a great price, the lives of above 2000 *English* lost on the place.

The *Scottish* Parliament thinketh it now more than high time to endeavour the Liberty of their King; Ambassadors are sent to that end, and are honourably Entertained by the Duke of *Glocester* then Governing all in *England*, in the Non-age of his Nephew.

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The Scots demand their King, the Duke adviseth the *English* Council to Treat with them: A great Ransom is demanded: The Scots having no other remedy, consent to Engage for it, in lieu of one Moiety the Dowry of the *Scottish* Queen (*Joan* Daughter to the Earl of *Somerset*, a woman of singular Vertue and Beauty, taken to Wife by the *Scottish* King at the earnest desire of the Duke of *Glocester*) was detained: and for the other, certain Noble Men are sent Pledges; an hard measure to an Infant Prisoner, who it seems paid Dear for his School-gate.

And thus after his Years Imprisonment, King *James* returneth Anno 1423; a Parliament is immediately called, the King and Queen Crowned, an Act passed for the payment of the 20th. part of every man's Personal Estate, for discharging the other Moiety of the King's Ransom. Commissioners appointed to Collect it, the People every where repine against it, as unaccustomed to such Impositions, some Great ones hunting after the vanity of Popular Applause, cherish their Discontent, which the good King perceiving, remitted the Tax, finding out another Expedient to discharge his Ransom.

1423.

In the same Parliament divers of the Nobility are Imprisoned for high Misdemeanors: The King immediately releaseth them; only *Mordake* Duke of *Albany* his two Sons, and his Father in Law the Earl of *Lenox* remained under restraint; and by Sentence of their Peers (the usual manner of Trying Great ones in that

1425.

that Nation) are adjudged to Death for their manifold Treasons, and were accordingly, not without the vigorous influence of *Atboll*, their Uncle, Beheaded on the Castle hill at *Sterlin*.

The same Year came Ambassadors from *France* to renew the Antient League, and to crave in Marriage *Margaret* Daughter to King *James*, for the *Dauphine* of *France* *Lodovick* Son to *Charles* the 7th. both propositions are chearfully assented unto, and the Ambassadors after much honourable Entertainment return satisfied; the King forthwith bendeth himself to a Reformation, and great need there was, for as once in *Israel*, so now in *Scotland*, when there was no King, every man did what seemed good in his own Eyes, whereby the Kingdom groaned under the greatest Confusions and Disorders that could be; the Civil Estate after much pain and trouble, is at last reduced into some tolerable Condition: Heads of Rebellious Factions men, some taken off, some Imprisoned, some in hope of amendment pardoned; Oppressions suppressed, Roberies restrained, and promising foundations laid to prevent such Insolence in time to come.

Amongst those pardoned in hope of Amendment, *Alexander* Lord of the *Isles* was one, a Great man and of a restless Spirit, no sooner enlarged, than he beginneth to meditate Revenge for his Imprisonment, as short as it was: He raiseth an Army of 10000 men, falleth down to *Ennerness*, burneth the Town to the ground and layeth Siege to the Castle; the King

sendeth

sendeth an Army against him, he raiseth his Siege, flyeth to the Mountains, maketh a stand about *Lough Aber*, resolving to run the hazard of a Battel in those places of advantage; two great Clanns, *Clan-Chaton*, and *Clan-Chameron*, revolt from him, many others are suspected by him; in this fear he disbandeth his Army, and with a few Attendants he flyeth into the *Isles*: from thence he sendeth his Orators to the King, to implore his Pardon; nothing could be obtained, though the Messengers were gracious enough to their Sovereign, *Alexander* himself is required to appear in Person before the King, committing himself wholly to his Majesty's mercy: the Rebel conscious of his own Guilt, is much perplexed, nevertheless considering his present condition how desperate it was, resolveth to fly to Mercy; and privately repaireth to *Edenburg*, where then his Majesty was: On *Easter-day* Morning he Addresseth himself to Court, covered with a Flaxen Frock, he prostrateth himself before the King as he past to Divine Service, with a most humble and penitent Oration he beggeth Pardon and Restoration to his Majesty's Favour, and that for his sake, whose restoring to Life they that day Celebrated: The Time, the Place, the Habit, his mournful Oration move at present to Compassion, especially the Queen, who became a most earnest Mediatrix on his behalf; the King delayeth his Answer to the end of Divine Service, which being performed, his Majesty resolving neither absolutely to Pardon, nor con-

dignly

1427.



dignly to Punish, for security of the Peace *Alexander* is sent Prisoner to *Tamilton*, and his Mother, as the great Instrument of all his Pernicious ways, is sent to *St. Colmes*.

1428.

In revenge of this Imprisonment, *Donald Maloc*, a Great man in the *Isles*, breaketh out in a new Rebellion, for Suppressing of whom the Earls of *Marre* and *Caithnes* are sent; *Donald* Surpriseth them, and putteth *Caithnes* and most of his Army to the Sword, *Marre* happily escaping: putt up with this Success, *Donald* marcheth to *Loughaber*; the King goeth out in Person against him; *Donald* having done much Mischief in the Countrey, flyeth into the *Isles*. Divers Heads of *Clannes* undertake to Suppress him; notice whereof being given to that Arch-Rebel, he privately conveyeth himself into *Ireland*, many of his Associates are killed, 300 of them taken Prisoners, are sent to the King, all without exception of any, deservedly Hanged, which exemplary Justice proved happily, to preserve those Barbarous places in Peace for a longer time than could be expected.

1428.

As his Majesty shewed his Justice in the Case I now mentioned, about the same time he gave a manifest of his Mercy, in enlarging two notable Robbers, *Duffe* and *Murray*; being enlarged, they quarrel one with another, Cull together their Retainers, maintained on the Spoils of the People, and being 1200 on each side, furiously Engage in a bloody Conflict, such Execution done on both sides, that not above 10 on the one, and 9 on the other side escape alive.

Not



Notwithstanding all which Disasters, Mr. *Donald* a notorious Robber, breaketh out into an open Rebellion; after some Mischief done, Mr. *Donald* is apprehended, himself Beheaded, and twelve of his Associates Hanged. Before his Execution the Law of Retaliation is by the King's special Command executed upon him. A poor Widdow pillaged by him, threateneth him with resolution to repair to the King for Redress; and I will fit thee for thy Journey, said the Rogue; he calleth for a Black-Smith, and commands him to Nail to her Feet two Horse-Shooes; go on saith he, now these will preserve thy Feet from bruising: the poor Woman dissembleth her resolution, and is dismissed: Mr. *Donald* being afterwards apprehended, the Widdow repaireth to his Majesty, reporteth and proveth this Insolent Trick; Mr. *Donald* is called for out of Prison, Horse-shooes are clapt on himself and twelve of his Companions, and commanded to march through the Streets of *Edenburgh*, an Officer publishing the Cause of this strange Punishment; their tedious Journey ended, all of them are put to Death, as before mentioned: King *James* hearing that *Maloc* was under the Power of an *Irish* Lord, sendeth a Messenger to *Ireland*, to require the Lord to deliver him; the *Irish* Lord fearing his Escape, and the Anger of so War-like a Prince, resolveth to make all sure by cutting off the Rebel's Head, which was accordingly done and sent over to the King. The publick Robberies thus suppressed, many good Laws are Established  
for

for the good, and to the Joy of all the People.

And as an addition to the Joy, two Popular Lords of the Nobility, *Dowglas* and *Cassils*, are enlarged from Prison, and received into his Majesty's favour.

1430. And for the Complement of all their Joy, the Queen is safely brought to Bed of two Sons, *October 14th. 1430.*

The Civil Estate thus happily regulated, his Majesty thinketh of a Reformation of the Clergy, but to small purpose; they being then and in those days within the Verge of the Pope his Jurisdiction, Secular Princes durst not exercise their Regal Power over them; all this good King could do, was to plant the Schools and Universities; Seminaries of good Learning, with Pious and Learned men, to whom he gave so many Encouragements, that the fruits of so good a Project were soon seen and perceived by all, to the great Joy of all good Men, and the immortal Praise of so good a Prince.

Neither did this good King rest in the encouragement of the Liberal Sciences, but resolving to advance all Mechanick Trades (wholly decayed by the tediousness, misery of an 150 Years War) sendeth over to *Flanders*, and from thence conduceth most exquisite Artificers of all sorts, to whom he gave great Rewards and large Immunities; by which Princely Munificence, Trades of all sorts thrive and flourish, the Poor set to Work, and many Enriched; every man acknowledging the happiness of that People

ple who live under the sweet and liberal Dews of a vertuous and munificent Prince.

Soon after arrived Ambassadors from France 1432. to demand the young Lady formerly Espoused to the *Dauphine*, to be sent over for the Consummation of the Marriage.

Ambassadors likewise come at the same time from *England*, with full purpose at once to break not only this Matrimonial, but also that Antient National League between the two Kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland*: to which end they propound a League Offensive and Defensive, with a Tender of *Berwick* and *Roxborough* to be Restored forthwith; many other things likewise were Tendered, promising yet fairly to the Good of both Kingdoms, if as fully performed as freely promised. King *James* remitterh this great Business to the Advice of his Parliament: The Parliament after much Debate, resolve to keep unviolably their Antient League with *France*, and according to the desire of the *French* Ambassador, to send over the young Lady without further delay.

The *English* Ambassadors resent this Denial, as a Dishonour, and immediately denounce War against the *Scots*; threatening withal, by their Navy to Way-lay the Princess in her passage to *France*.

The Princess is sent over forthwith under the guard of a very stately Navy, the *English* Navy attempting nothing, her Highness safely Arriveth, and her Marriage to the *Dauphine*, with

the greatest expressions of Joy solemnized at *Turon*.

About the same time Earl *Percy* entreth into *Scotland* with 4000, rather to spoil than fight: *Dowglas* Earl of *Anyus* is sent against him with the like number, *Percy* is overthrown, a few slain on either side; of the *English* 1500 taken Prisoners.

King *James* thus provoked by Way-laying the young Lady by Sea, and by this Inroad by Land; raiseth a great Army, with purpose to Invade *Northumberland*: in this way he layeth Siege to *Roxborough*, then in the hands of the *English*, expecting in few days the Delivering of it into his hands.

In the mean while cometh the Queen into his Camp discovering to him a most horrid Treason intended by his own nighest Kindred, against both his Person and Posterity.

His Majesty perceiving that her Relation proceeded not from Womanish fear, but from such real Grounds as were not to be flighted, raiseth his Siege, and without Advice of any, Disbandeth his Army, to the no less Astonishment than Discontent of most about him, being Strangers to the cause of this sudden and unexpected Change: His Majesty posteth to *St. John's Town* (as a Bird into a Snare) of purpose to make a fuller Discovery, of that horrible Plot.

The Treason being ripe, and ready for Execution, the Traitors privately repair thither, with a small band of Conspirators: The Cap-  
trains



tains of that Traiterous Band, *Athol* and his Cousin *Graham*, knowing the Weakness of the King's Guard, enter privately into the Monastery where his Majesty lay, and by Conduct of one of his Household Servants, debauched into the Conspiracy, they come to the Stairs which led to the Royal Chamber : The Cupbearer at the same time coming down, perceiving them in Arms, Crieth out with a loud Voice, Treason; him they forthwith Murder, and make hast to the Door, made fast by no stronger bar (the Iron Bolt being stolen away by the Traiterous Servant in Conspiracy with them) than the Tender wrest of a young Gentleman, which quickly broke; the Assassins furiously rush in, and run towards his Majesty, which the Queen perceiving, casteth her self upon the King, endeavouring poor Lady to preserve him, they drag her from him, not without some dangerous Wounds; and forgetting all fear of God and Man, thrust their Swords above Forty times through the Heart and Body of the most Excellent Prince.

The cause of this horrid Assassination, was that old Mother of much Mischiefe, Ambition : *Athol*, the King's old Uncle, having already by his Hellish Subtlety, brought some of his nighest Kinsmen, who lay in his way to the Crown, to untimely Ends, resolveth at last to strike at the main Rub, the King himself; for accomplishing whereof he snatcheth the advantage of the Discontent of *Robert Graham* Tutor of *Straberne*, to whom he propoundeth his Design,



craveth his Conjunction therein, with assurance not only of Protection but of ample Rewards, and great Preferments when he comes to his Kingdom. *Graham* graspes at all, and joyneth in the Traiterous Design with him. To this Combination *Athol* calleth his own Grandchild, *Robert*, a Youth nimble both in Head and Hand, whom he likewise debaucheth into this Treasonable Plot. The Treason thus Craftily contrived, is Cunningly carried on, and at last cruelly Executed, as before.

1437. This was a sad Day in *Scotland*, a day of Mourning and great Lamentation for the loss of such an Incomparable Prince; the Nobility filled with Grief and Indignation, breath out Revenge; post out Parties into every Corner of the Kingdom, to apprehend the Assassins and their Complices; which they performed with such care and diligence, that within less than Forty days all of them are Apprehended, Arraigned, Condemned, and Hanged; only the Earl himself, his Grand-child *Robert*, and his Cousin *Graham*, are more severely proceeded against, to the terror of all Traitors, the Executioners were to spend some part of three days in the Execution of *Athol*, himself, being the Contriver of the whole Villany: The first day
1438. he was drawn in a Cart to the place of Execution, a Crane was set up, and his Body hauled up by a Pulley to a great height, is suddenly let fall, almost to the Ground, most of his Members at once miserably disjoynted; then is he set on a Pillar in the view of the People, a Crown

Crown of burning Iron set on his Head, with this Inscription; *Here stands the King of all Traitors*: (whereby came to pass the Delusion of a Sooth-sayer, who told him (which withal was a spur to his Ambition) that in a publick place he should be Crowned King: The second day he is tied on an Hurdle and dragged by Horse through the Great Street in *Edenburgh*: The thrid day he was brought again to the place of Execution, and laid along a Plank, his Bowels are pulled out and cast into Fire prepared for them, his Traiterous Heart is likewise pulled out and cast into the same Fire, his Head cut off and set upon a Pole in a publick place of the City, as a Spectacle to all Men; his Body divided into four Quarters, is sent out to four other chief Cities in the Kingdom, and in publick places hanged up, to the terror of all Traitors. His Grand-child *Robert* being a Youth only, and Seduced by the wicked Counsell of his Grand-father, is more mildly dealt withall, being first Strangled to death and then Quartered; his Quarters are set as Spectacles in certain publick places of the Kingdom. *Graham* is more roughly used, being, though not the chief Contriver, the grand Executioner of that dreadful Murther; he was first dragged through the City in a Cart backward, then his Hands being fastned in Iron Hooks fixed in the same Cart, his Flesh all his Body over is Seared with hot Irons, even to the very Bones; this done, his Body is cut in Quarters, and disposed on as were the former.

A severe piece of Justice, and well deserved: What could recompence the loss of that Good King, worthy to be reckoned amongst the best of Kings, a Man of a low Stature, but of a marvellous strength of Body, far exceeding all his Contemporaries; of such a vigorous Wit, that he was eminently learned in all the liberal Sciences; in Poetry and Musick he far exceeded the decorum of a King: a prudent Lawgiver, a singular Justiciary, a Merciful Prince: an incomparable Mæcenas to all Learning: in all his Relations, and their respective duties, no King, no Man ever better; and yet for all these, it pleased God to suffer him to fall under the Cruel hands of wicked and bloody Men, for what cause, whether his own or his Peoples Sins, is best known to him from whom no Secret thing is hid: His Murther hapened to the inexpressible Grief of all good Men, the 20th. day of February, 1437. the 18th. Year of his Reign, and the 44th. of his Age.

1437.

THE  
L I F E  
O F  
J A M E S II.

**J**AMES the Second, only Son to *James* the First, was Crowned at *Halyrude-House* in the 7th Year of his Age: at the same time *Sir Alexander Levislon* is chosen Vice-Roy, and *Sir William Chrichton* continued Chancellor.

The Nobility are no sooner returned home to the places of their ordinary Residence, when behold all things fall into a most Pernicious Confusion: *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas*, conceiving himself neglected in the publick Administration, refuseth notwithstanding the Letters both of the Vice-Roy and Chancellor, directed to him to that effect; to Restrain the Insolent Robberies committed by his own Vassals, all *Anandale* over; commanding them withal to deny Obedience to the Edicts and Proclama-

tions of the Chancellor or Vice-Roy, pretending a Regal Power Legally invested in himself over all those who lived within the Confines of his peculiar Jurisdiction.

The same Divil of Division playeth his Pranks between the Vice-Roy and Chancellor: the Vice-Roy dischargeth by publick Proclamation all Obedience to the Chantellor, and the Chancellor by the like Proclamation, all Obedience to the Vice-Roy: The People thus perplexed between contrary Comimands, are reduced by their Opposite Powers in cases of necessary Disobedience to the one or other, into a most woful Plight: The Vice-Roy and the Queen stay at *Sterlin*: The King the Tui-tion of the Chancellor, abideth at *Edenburgh* Castle: the Queen with a design to rescue the King out of the hands of the Chancellor, repaireth to *Edenburgh*, pretending a desire only to see her Royal Son the young King. The Chancellor Entertaineth her Majesty civilly and Princely; which civil Entertainment the Queen very Graciously accepteth; and by her fair and plausible Discourses concerning the State of publick Affairs, the happy Education of the young King her Son, and the earnest desire she had of an happy Union between the two grand Ministers of State; She so far Insinuateth herself into the good opinion of the Chancellor, that at all times she hath free access to the King's Person: Her Retinue being such too, as it was so small and of such mean Persons, that no matter of jealousy could arise from them.



In the mean while she secretly persuadeth the Child to suffer himself to be conveyed away by her, and finding her opportunity, overnight she very civilly and in a Courteous fashion taketh her leave of the Chancellor, pretending a Journey early next day morning to *Whit Kirk* to perform some Vows and Religious-Offices: by break of Day she taketh her Journey, and with her the young King her Son, locked up in the Trunk in which her own Linnen lay; both take Shipping at *Leith*, and safely Arrive that Afternoon at *Sterlin*, where they were received with much Joy. The Chancellor amazed and ashamed to see himself so handsomly cheated, perplexeth himself to little purpose. The Vice-Roy forthwith advanceth with an Army to Besiege the Castle of *Edenburgh*, where the Chancellor lay: who immediately dispatcheth a Messenger to Earl *Douglas* to crave Aid and Relief; who returneth Answer with as little Wit as Fear; saying, *That he knew they were both Knaves, contending not for Publick Good, but their own private Interests; so that wherever the Blow fell, it was not lost; and should they both Perish, it were the more happy for the whole Kingdom; as to himself he should not be sorry to see the Ruine of them both.* This Indiscreet Answer, proveth as so much Soder to Cement the two grand Contenders: either by perceiving the Earl his common Enmity against both, resolve to make Peace one with another; which after a private and personal Conference, was accordingly done, both remaining in their respective places of Government:

1439.

1440.

ment : Being thus Reconciled, they bear a keen Edge towards *Dowglas*, but Death struck more sharp than their Sword, cutteth the thread of his Life, in a Fit of a burning Feaver; which notwithstanding cutteth not off the current of their Malice, which unhappily found a more advantageous passage, by the imprudent Deportment of *William* the young Earl, his Son, a Youth not exceeding fourteen Years of Age, who living in a Princely garb, creating Knights, Counsellors, and other Officers; and always guarded with a Guard of Two Thousand Horse, is suspected and feared of all, and as an addition to his Envy as well as Greatness, he sendeth to *France*, and craveth the Title of his Grand-father, which was forthwith granted to him, and is immediately declared Duke of *Tyron*; and which added more to all Mens fear and jealousy, the Queen and the Lord *James Stuart* her Husband, and his Brother *William*, are suspected to be Engaged in *Dowglas* his Faction : The Vice-Roy glad to snatch any opportunity against the Queen, whom now he suspected to be none of his Friend, secureth her Person; and not contented to secure her Husband and his Brother in a strong Prison, he layeth them both fast in Iron Fetters, where they remained until they found sufficient Sureties for the Peace, engaging withal that they should not bear any publick Office without consent of the Vice-Roy.

The Vice-Roy now not a little puffed up, ruleth all things at pleasure, contemning the  
Chan-

Chancellor and all other Officers of State : the Chancellor not able to bear this Insolence, withdraweth from Court, then at *Sterlin*, and retireth himself to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, the Government whereof he had Confirmed to him at their last Agreement : who meditating with himself what might be done to give Check to the Vice-Roy, resolveth to surprize the Person of the King, who he knew used to follow his sport in Hunting, with a small Retinue; to which end he marcheth out in the Night, and lodgeth himself and a Band of his most trusty Friends amongst Thickets in a Wood, whither the King came next day morning in course : the Chancellor forthwith Surprizeth him, beseeching his Majesty to be of good Chear, and to rest assured that no other thing save his Highness Service and Safety was intended by him, telling him that it was now high time for him to take the Government upon himself, in order whereunto he came to Rescue him out of the hands of the Vice-Roy, in which he lived not much on this side Slavery : and withal, with great shews of Respect and Duty, he tendereth to his Highness a Guard of Four Thousand Horse : The King seemeth not much displeased, putteth on a chearful Countenance, and guarded with those Four Thousand Horse, he cometh along with the Chancellor to the City of *Edenburgh*, where he was received with extraordinary Acclamations of Joy.

The Vice-Roy no less confounded at this Surprisal than was the Chancellor at the Queen's lately

lately mentioned, is extremely perplexed : In Council, after many Self-debates, he resolveth at last, not daring to trust himself to the Earl *Douglas*, upon all hazards to hast to *Edenburgh* with a small Retinue, to try whether by stooping so low, the Storm might pass over him : to *Edenburgh* he repaireth, and by mediation of the Bishops of *Aberdeen* and *Murray*, Men Learned, Pious, and Prudent; a Personal Conference is obtained with the Chancellor : The Vice-Roy with a sad Countenance, deploreth their unhappy Divisions, declaimeth against them as Dangerous to the Publick, and Destructive to their own private Interests : he imploreth an happy Union between them, without which they must both Perish; promising on his part an Oblivion of all things past, and all fair Respect in time to come. The Chancellor well knowing that Destruction to both must needs be the Issue of the Divisions between them, chearfully hearkeneth to the proposition of Peace, they presently accord, and an Union is now the second time concluded between them; and notwithstanding Distress enough to the People, and Danger more than enough to the young King, flowing from their divided Government, these two cunning Catchers accord to continue still in their respective Trusts and places in Government upon this agreement a Parliament is called at *Edenburgh*, for the better settling of the miserable distracted Condition of the Kingdom. To this Parliament *Douglas* is Invited; and by the advice of the Vice-Roy and Chancellor



cellor (his inveterate Enemies now contriving his Ruine) publick Letters are sent him Sealed by the King, and divers of the prime Nobility, inviting him with many Arguments of Love and Respect, to assist in Parliament, and in the publick Administration; assuring him not only of Safety, but tendering to him what Place he should desire in the management of publick Affairs.

The Earl moved by the publick Faith thus ingaged, and by the specious Promises so Solemnly made, repaireth to *Edenburgh* without Fear or Jealousie: The Chancellor meeteth him before he came within ten Miles of the City, and inviteth him to his Castle at *Chrichton*, where he Entertaineth him magnificently, in all his Discourse so highly commending the Noble Family of the *Dowglasses*, their worthy Acts and high Deserts both of King and Country, and so fully declaring the great hopes himself conceived of the young Earl himself, that the Wisser of *Dowglas* his Retainers began to suspect some Mischief to lurk under the covert of those specious Words, which they knew were no less unusual in him, than unbeseeming his Place and Authority. They dissuade their Lord with all Earnestness from his Journey towards the City, intreating his return to his own House as he loved himself, and if he must needs go, they adjure him by all the love he bear to his Family, and by all that reverence and obedience he owed to the Commands of his Wife Father, who charged him on his Death-bed, never to  
trust



1444. trust his whole Family under the hazard of one Blow, that he would not carry along with him his dear and only Brother; but all in vain, his Destiny drives him no faster than he is willing to run to his own Ruine; he entereth the City, and is by the Chancellor attended to the Castle, whither the Vice-Roy likewise repaireth, and entertaineth him with all Civility; yea, and to Honour him the more, he is admitted to the King's own Table, and feasted with no small Solemnity: But behold, amidst all their Chear and great Mirth, a Band of Armed Men enters the Dining Chamber, and a Bull's Head is clap'd on the Table (a certain Token, in those days, of an appointed and approaching Death) the Earl is too late stricken with Fear, and endeavouring to rise, the Armed Men lay hold on him, drag him down Stairs, and without Doors immediately cut off his Head; his Brother *David* and *Malcombe Fleming* his dearest Friend, are at the same time, and in the same manner Cut off.

The young King no less amazed than abused, and stricken with immediate Sorrow, weepeth as a Child, though now grown well upward towards the years of a Man: the Chancellor perceiving him, Chides him very sharply for his unseasonable Tears (as he was pleased to call them) for the Death of a Dangerous Traitor.

The Earl thus destroyed, and without Issue, his Cousin *James* succeedeth him in the Rights and Honours of the Earldom, his Sister *Beatrix* enjoy-

enjoying whatsoever was not Entailed to the Heir Male; *James* dyeth soon after: his Son *William* Succeedeth, and Marrieth his Cousin *Beatrice*, to the great encrease of his Wealth and Power, with which increased Pride and Insolence, and with both, Envy and Fear; which the Earl perceiving, resolveth to satisfie the People whom he had deeply Oppressed, and to pacifie the King (now come to Age) whom he had highly displeased: to this end he repaireth to Court, submitting himself to the King, whose Pardon he craved, promising Amendment in all things done amiss: the King receiveth him into Favour, in hope of better things, and indeed such was his Reformation, that he was admired of all, and dreaded of some, especially the Vice-Roy and Chancellor, knowing Guile and Fear, being always inseparable Companions, who suspecting and expecting the result of all his Counsels to be their Ruine: they withdraw from Court, laying down their Places in publick Affairs; the Vice-Roy to his House in the Countrey, the Chancellor to *Edinburgh-Castle*: Earl *Douglas* takes the opportunity of their Absence, and by his Counsel especially, both are Summoned to appear before his Majesty and great Council, to give an Account of their publick Employments: both make shew of a great desire to obey, but at present excuse their Non-appearance, pretending Danger by reason of Earl *Douglas* his Power and Enmity against them: by Influence of the Earl his Counsel, they are declared Traitors, and their

their Estates confiscate; *Costerline* a Retainer to the Earl is sent with Commission to levy their Personal Estates, and to return them to the Exchequer, which was accordingly done.

In revenge of all which, the Chancellor raiseth some Forces, first pillageth, and then burneth *Costerline* his Estate, and many Lands belonging to *Dowglas* himself. This Quarrel occasioneth many Stirs in divers places in the Countrey: At last *Dowglas* Besiegeth the Chancellor in the Castle of *Edenburgh*: After nine Months Siege, the Castle for want of Provisions is forced to surrender upon Articles; of which this was the Chief: *A general Act of Oblivion to be past by the King in Parliament in behalf of the Chancellor and his Friends; and leave to be granted to him to live in peace at his own House without Molestation of him or his*: This over, *Dowglas* bendeth himself against the *Levistsons*, many of them are cited before the Parliament at *Edenburgh*; all accused of Treason, divers found Guilty, Condemned and Executed.

Soon after *Chrichton* is reconciled to the King, and by him made Chancellor again, and sent Ambassador to *France* to renew the old League, and to demand some Princess of the Blood in Marriage to the young King.

*Mary*, Daughter to the Duke of *Geldria* by the Duke of *Burgundy* his Sister, is forthwith Espoused, and next Year after Arriveth in *Scotland*, is Married to the King, and Crowned Queen at *Halyrude-House*, Anno 1449.

By this time the Truce between the two Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*, determineth: new Stirrs begin, and after some Depredations on both sides, the Truce is renewed and continued for Seven Years; but to very little purpose; restless Men soon break the Peace; the *English* break into *Scotland*, spoil and plunder many places; the *Scots* do the like in *England*; the *English* raise a great Army to Invade the *Scots*, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and one *Magnus* a Knight, a Man of great Valour and Experience in War-like affairs.

The *Scots* likewise raise an Army under the Command of *George* Earl of *Ormond*, Brother to the Earl *Dowglas*: the two Armies joyn Battel between *Anand* and *Eske* in *Scotland*; *Magnus*, too daring a Man, adventureth too far, and falleth by his own rashness; his Fall is the Ruine of all, the whole Army runneth, and is put to a fatal Rout; Three Thousand *English* killed, and divers Prisoners of Quality; a Rich Plunder obtained by the *Scots*, with the Loss of 600 of their Men.

This Overthrow enrageth the *English*; a new Army is appointed to be Levied: Civil Wars in *England* cross all: An Ambassador is sent to *Scotland* to desire Peace, Peace could not be obtained: A Cessation of Arms only concluded, and that with much ado, for three Years. Earl *Dowglas* next Year following, desirous to see the Papal Jubilee, travelleth through *France*, with a Princely Retinue to *Rome*. No

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sooner



sooner gone, than whole troops of People, Oppressed by him, have their recourse to the King, praying instantly and incessantly for Reparation of wrong done by him.

His Majesty is in a strait, the Petitions being such, as could not in Justice be refused; and the Earl not being present, could not in Justice be Condemned: in the mean time the Earl his Proctor is called, for to get in what Answer he could; who refusing to appear, is committed to Prison: Many counsel harder things against him, as guilty of high Contempt of Royal Majesty: the King inclining to Moderation, calleth for him out of Restraint, and Commandeth him to Plead for his Lord freely and without Fear, which the Proctor, thus encouraged, accordingly performed: His Majesty having patiently heard all that possibly could be said, adjudgeth reasonable Satisfaction to be made to the Oppressed: The Proctor craveth respite till the return of his Lord; The King adjudgeth present Satisfaction; and to that end Lord *William Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney*, and at that time Lord Chancellor, is sent into *Galloway* and *Dumglaskdale*, to Commissionate Collectors to Levy my Lord's Retinue for Satisfaction of the Sums adjudged; the Collectors all slighted, and continued, return home, having done just nothing.

This inrageth his Majesty; the chief Obstructors are sent for, who refusing to appear, are all denounced Rebels, and Forces sent to reduce them to Order; they fly to strong Holds, against



against which the Party sent, could do nothing; the King marcheth in Person against them; *Maban* Castle immediately Yieldeth; *Dowglas* Castle reduced; not without some loss to the King, is laid level to the ground; all the Faction at length submitteth, and payeth out of *Dowglas* his Estate, the Sums adjudged.

The Earl having notice of all these Troubles, returneth from *Rome* much perplexed, making a Pause in *England*, until by his Brother he understood the King's gracious Affection towards him; in the assurance whereof he Addresseth himself to his Majesty, craving his Pardon for all former Miscarriages, and promising all dutiful Obedience for the future; is not only received into Favour, but soon after declared Vice-Roy.

This extraordinary Grace is as soon forgot, made use on to none other purpose save to advance his own Ambitious Designs, whereof all Men were the more Jealous, by his private withdrawing into *England*, where he entertained a Clandestine Conference with the *English* King; of which giving none other Reason save the Petition of some Plundered Goods, the *Scottish* King is no less Enraged against him, than Jealous of him; and which the Earl understanding, and knowing his Majesty's Clemency, craveth his Pardon with shew of great Humility; which by the mediation of the Queen is soon obtained: The King resolving notwithstanding, to trust him no more in that height of Power in Government, committeth the chief

1451.

management of all Publick Affairs to the Earl of *Orkney*, and to *Chrichton* the old Chancellor: *Douglas* reckoning this a Note of Disgrace, rageth against the whole Court, Vowing the Destruction of *Chrichton*, which he well nigh made good by an Ambush laid for him, as he passed from *Edenburgh* to his House at *Chrichton*: A Troop of Armed Men all on the sudden compass him round, he forceth his Passage, and escapeth the Snare, not without some dangerous Wounds; his Wounds are Cured, he returneth to *Edenburgh*: Earl *Douglas* fearing the King's displeasure, withdraweth from the City, still resolving Revenge; for accomplishing whereof he entereth a League Offensive and Defensive with the Earls of *Craford*, and *Ross*; in the strength whereof he presumeth so much, as to contemn all Opposition; the King himself is Despised in his Eyes: *Harris* and Mr. *Lennan*, two *Galloway* Knights, both of Antient Families, are put to Death by him, under pretence of Justice, in despite of all the King could do or say: Rumours are likewise every where cast out, of his aspiring to the Crown; At last his Majesty sendeth for him, forthwith to repair to his Court at *Sterlin*; the Earl refuseth, pretending Danger from the Power of his Enemies then at Court. Divers of the Nobles send their Letters of Assurance to him, and move the King to Seal a Paper in the nature of a Pass; which the Earl receiving, cometh to Court, confiding in the often experienced Clemency of the King; his Majesty receiveth

ceiveth him Graciously, and Inviteth him to Supper; after Supper the King, with some of his most Intimate Counsellors, withdraw, and with them the Earl, into a Withdrawing-Room: In the presence of those his Counsellors he Expostulateth with the Earl his strange Deportment towards him, mentioning the bounty of the Crown to his Family, and his own Extraordinary Grace to himself; not only his Pardon more than once granted, but singular Pledges of his Favour frequently Conferred, and all most strangely abused: Notwithstanding all which, his Majesty once again tenders to him the assurance of his Favour and Grace, in hope of amendment; repairing, nay, rather requesting the Cancelling of that odious League with *Craford* and *Ross*, so dangerous and dishonourable to his Majesty: *Dowglas* answereth Dimissly enough to all, save in the point of the League, wherein he desires to be Excused: The King presseth him with all Earnestness, to persist no longer in it; which the Earl peremptorily refusing, the King is moved into an extraordinary Passion, breaking out into these words; *If thou wilt not break it, by God I will*; and then before his Counsellors were aware, he thrusteth his Ponyard into his Heart.

1452.

This unhappy Accident casteth all into Confusion. *Dowglas* his four Brothers then in Town, raise a Dangerous Tumult; and with much ado, are appeased: Immediately they fly into their own Countrey, and break out into open Re-

bellion, dragging the King's Pass and the Noble Mens Letter to the late Earl, at their Horse Heels, with words of Disgrace, not fit to be mentioned : They Pillage, Burn, and Slay all they suspected bare any Favour to the King. The King calleth a Parliament at *Edenburgh*, before which they are Summoned to appear ; all Contemptuously refusing, are proclaimed Traitors ; with the Countess Dowager, Wife to the late Earl ; and with her, the Earl of *Craford*.

*James*, the eldest Brother, and now Earl, to preserve the Wealth of his Family, Marrieth his Brother's Wife, craveth the *Pope* his Dispensation ; which being refused, he allureth as many into his Faction as possibly he could, far more siding with him than possibly could be expected ; insomuch that the whole Kingdom for two Years together, became a very Stage of Murther and Ravine ; Famine, and the Pestilence threatning Ruine to all.

Divers of *Douglas* his Wiser Friends being touched with the Sense of these Calamities, counsel him to cast himself upon the King's mercy ; he scorneth the Motion, declaiming against them as Pusillaminous, declaring rather to Dye, than to Submit.

Earl *Craford* taketh another and wiser course, choosing rather to Submit ; he casteth himself in his Majesty's way passing through *Angus* ; and like a Penitent indeed, he comes Bare-footed into his Royal Presence, and prostrateth himself before Him with Tears in his Eyes, and the greatest expressions of Sorrow that could be made,



made, craving in a most Penitent Oration, his Majesty's Pardon.

The King, and all then and there present, are touched with Compassion towards him; his Pardon is forthwith granted; the Earl sensible of his Grace, tendereth his Service to his Majesty; which being accepted, he behaveth himself as a gallant Man, and a good Subject, to his Dying day.

*Douglas* lendeth *Hamilton* to the *English* King, to crave Assistance from him, which could not be obtained unless *Douglas* should declare himself a Subject to the Crown of *England*; a Condition so unreasonable, even in his Judgment, though sufficiently Rebellious against his native Prince, that he choosed rather to Perish than to Embrace it. *Hamilton* therefore returning without hope of *English* Help, persuadeth *Douglas* to put all to the hazard of a Battle, which accordingly was resolved on: his Army marcheth, and advanceth towards the King's, then Besieging *Abercorne* Castle: The two Armies in view one of another, *Douglas* proveth too slow; his Army is thereby much discouraged; which *Hamilton* perceiving, withdraweth, goeth over to the King, craves his Pardon, and obtaineth it. *Douglas* retreateth, and deserted almost of all, flyeth into *England*. The Castle is taken by Storm, and the Garrison put to the Sword; the Ruines of that stately Castle remaining as a Monument of that Victory.

1454.



*Dowglas* soon after returneth into *Anandale*, giveth Battel to some of the King's Forces there, and receiveth the Foil; his Brother *Archibald* is Killed on the place, his Brother *George* Wounded, and taken Prisoner, is sent to the King, and Beheaded.

1457. A Parliament is again called to Assemble at *Edenburgh*, 1455: *Dowglas* and his Adherents are again declared Traitors, and their Estates Confiscated: *Dowglas* flyeth into the *Hebrides*, and entereth into League with *Donald* Lord of the *Isles*: They fall down into the main Countrey, where they Pillage and consume all with Fire and Sword wheresoever they came, laying wast divers Counties.

1457. *Beatrice*, Wife to both Earls of *Dowglas*, and both Brethren; casteth her self at the King's feet, craveth his Pardon, pretending that she was forced to the Marriage of her Lord's Brother by fear of present Destruction: She declareth her self as willing to submit to the King's Justice, as to accept of his Mercy, whereof she acknowledgeth her self most unworthy; she receiveth Pardon, and is beyond all Mens expectation, received into Favour; yea, and *Donald* Lord of the *Isles*, sendeth his Orators to his Majesty, to crave his Pardon; all that could be obtained, was a Command to make Satisfaction to the People for the Mischief done by him; which being done, a Promise is made to assure him of Pardon.

Earl *Dowglas* passeth over into *England*, craveth Assistance of *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, which was no sooner asked than obtained: Forces are raised, and under the Conduct of the two Earls they make an Incurſion into the *Mense* in *Scotland*, waſting and pillaging all: the Earl of *Angus* is ſent to give ſome Check to the violent Current; which was done to good purpoſe, being ſoundly beaten, they are forced to retreat, leaving their Spoil behind them.

King *James* not ſatisfied with this Victory, reſolveth to revenge the manifold Incurſions made into *Scotland*, by an Expedition into *England*, provoked the more by the Entertainment and Aſſiſtance given to the Earl *Dowglas*, a Proclaimed Traitor.

In the mean while Agents are ſent to him by ſome of the *English* Nobility, the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and others then in Arms againſt King *Henry*; to crave ſome Auxiliary Forces from his Maſteſty, in recompence whereof they promiſe, in caſe of Succeſs, the Rendition of all the *Scottiſh* Towns, Forts, and Caſtles in the *English* Poſſeſſion.

King *James*, though unwilling to meddle in this Quarrel; yet being glad of an Opportunity to regain his Towns, and having formerly concluded a War for reparation of Wrongs done, declareth to the *English* Commiſſioners, that he would haſten his Expedition into *England*, which he doubted not would be much to the advantage of the Lords in Arms; and therefore expected, that in caſe of Succeſs, the

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Proposition now made touching his Towns, should then be performed.

The *English* Commissioners return satisfied; the *Scottish* Army forthwith advanceth, which had not marched many Miles, when behold an Impostor, and with him a Cozening Monk presenteth himself to the King, pretending himself to be the *Pope's* Legate, but sent indeed by King *Henry* of *England*: This Jugler informeth his Majesty, that his Holiness intended to settle, if possible, a general Peace in Christendom, in order to a War against the *Turk*, the Enemy of Christians; and therefore in his Holiness his Name, he requireth his Majesty to retreat, assuring him, that in case of Disobedience, he had Command given to him to denounce the *Pope's* Curse against him; which in those days was so Dreadful, that no Man durst be so desperate as to incur the danger thereof: King *James* therefore obeyeth, retreateth, and Disbandeth his Army.

This Cheat is soon discovered; the King enraged, recallesh his Army, and forthwith advanceth; and in his way Stormeth the Town of *Roxburgh*, then Garrison'd by the *English*; the Castle refusing to yield, is closely Besieged; in the interim Messengers come from the *English* Lords to give notice to his Majesty of King *Henry* his Overthrow, and return him thanks for his Royal care of their Safety, intreating him to desist from the Siege, lest the *English*, being provoked thereby, send down an Army, contrary to their minds, against him. King  
*James*

James much moved at this last Passage, demandeth of the Messengers what Instructions they had from their Lords concerning the Promise of Surrendering into his hands all his Towns, Forts and Castles, in the *English* power; they acknowledge none: The King bids them tell their Lords, *That not their Words, but their Swords, must raise him from the Siege.* The Siege continueth, and is reinforced by additional Forces under Earl *Hamkey* and *Donald* Lord of the *Isles*, who to ingratiate himself the more to his Majesty, tendereth himself and his Forces as a Forlorn Hope, in what Design or Service soever it shall please his Majesty to command him.

In the midst of all this Preparation, behold the Fatal hour approacheth; the King being himself very skilful in discharging of great Ordnance, draweth nigh to see the Cannoneer discharge a great Cannon called the *Lion*, newly sent to him from beyond Sea; the Cannon discharged, flyeth in pieces, a Wedge whereof pierceth the King's body, and immediately he dyeth.

Such of his Courtiers and Commanders as were by, though astonished at this sad Spectacle, yet are so present in mind, as to cover his Body from the view of the Souldiers, lest all should turn to Confusion.

The Queen, who that very morning came into the Camp, with a chearful Countenance, wisely concealing the great grief of her heart, exhorteth the Nobility to go on with Resolution,

tion, notwithstanding that sad disaster : and for their further encouragement produceth her young Son the Prince, a Child of seven Years old, they salute him King ; and being much animated by this couragious Department of the Queen, the Siege goeth on more furiously than before.

1460.

The *English* within, spent with much labour and continual watchings, Sound a Parley, obtain Articles of Surrender ; march out honourably, with freedom to Transport into *England* whatsoever belonged to the Garrison : the Castle Surrendered, is forthwith Demolished.

Thus Dyed *James* the Second about the 11th. of *September* 1460, in the 22th. Year of his Reign, and the 29th. of his Age ; he lived in a most desperate time, and Rebellious Age ; but disposed with such a well composed Mind, that Prosperity and Adversity were equally entertained by him (the Death of Earl *Dowglas* the only instance of his Impotency,) a Man of singular Courage, and no less Clemency ; munificent to his Friend, and merciful to his Foe : In a sad time he fell, leaving Sorrow enough behind him, and a sad People for so great a loss.

THE



# THE L I F E O F J A M E S I I I.

**J**AMES the Third entereth his Reign at *Kells* the 7th. Year of his Age, Anno 1460. The Peers having done the Homage, the King repaireth to *Edenburgh-Castle*, to remain there, under the Tuition of the Queen, until a Parliament could conveniently be called, for settling the Affairs of the King and Kingdom.

In the mean while King *Henry* the Sixth of *England*, after various Fortune of War, is at last, after the fatal Blow he received at *Tewkesbury*, near *Ferrybridges* (where died 35091 *English*) forced to fly with the Queen and Prince into *Scotland* for Relief; where he is Honourably received and entertained; the *Scottish* King's Sister.

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1462. Sister *Margaret*, is given in Marriage to his Son Prince *Edward*. Some considerable Forces are raised for his Assistance, to recover his Crown, having delivered *Berwick* to King *James*, as part of his Antient Inheritance before the days of King *Edward* the First. King *Henry* marcheth with his Army into *England*, and is overthrown in Battel by *Edward* the 4th. nigh *Hexham*; escapeth to *Berwick*; *Edward* returneth to *London*. Queen *Margaret* procures some Forces from *France*; all Cast away in the *Holy Island* by distress of Weather; such as escaped the Sea, are either Slain or Imprisoned. King *Henry* now desperate of Relief, resolveth to try the Affections of his Friends in *England*, and to that end putteth himself into a Disguise, and coming Southward, is discovered, apprehended, carried to *London*, and laid up in the *Tower*. By this time the *Scots* are at leisure to meet in Parliament; great Contention there was, into whose hands the Government should be committed, during the King's Minority; the Queen claimeth it; *Kennedie* Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, and *George Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, Heads of a contrary Faction, Oppose her: great Justling between the two Factions, even unto Blood, had not the Wisdom of the Bishops interposed. In fine, It was agreed that two of each Faction should be intrusted with the Tuition of the young King, and the Government of the whole Kingdom: of the Queens Faction, were *James Graham* and *Robert Boid*, then Lord Chancellor: of the other *Robert* Earl of *Orkney*; and *John Kennedy*, chief of that Clan.

To these were added the Bishops of *Glasco*, and *Dunkell*, Men of great Learning and Integrity; the Queen her self only permitted to have some inspection into the King's Education, without meddling in the publick Administration: The younger Children are wholly committed to her Tuition, which were *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, *John* Earl of *Marre*, and two Daughters.

These things happily Established in Parliament, Audience is given to the *English* Ambassadors, their business was for Peace, and accordingly a Peace for Fifteen Years is concluded.

Next Year after the Queen Mother dieth; *Alexander* the King's Brother, returning from *France*, is taken Prisoner by the *English*: The *Scots* complaining of it, as a breach of Peace; the Child is immediately set at Liberty.

Things now quiet abroad, new Stirs arise at home by the restless and rebellious Spirit of *Donald* Lord of the *Isles*, who falleth down into the lower Countries with an Army, surpriseth *Ennerness*, and Proclaimeth himself King of the *Isles*, and advanceth into *Athol*, with a very powerful Army: The Earl of *Athol*, not prepared to oppose so great a Power, flyeth to the Sanctuary of *St. Brigit*; never at any time Violated before by the most barbarous of Men: The rich Booty of the place was of more price to that barbarous Raven, than the esteem of its Sanctuary: he barbarously entereth into the Sanctuary, taking the Earl and his Lady, and divers others,



1464.

others, Prisoners; putteth most of the Priests to the Sword; and having Pillaged what he could, sets the Sacred place on Fire; and making much hast home with his Booty, the wrath of God pursueth him; his Ships are cast away, his Men most of them drowned, himself reserved to a greater Judgment, runneth Mad, and remaineth so in a great height to his dying-day: Such of his Fellows as elcaped the present Judgment, are stricken with such Inward Horrour, that they voluntarily performed Penance with very great expressions of Remorse, going Bare-footed in Sackcloth to the place they so much Contemned, satisfying to the utmost of their power, for the Expiation of their Offence.

This Storm over, a Calm continued for a Season; but all is soon overclouded, by the malignant Spirit of Ambition and Envy.

1466.

The *Boids* labour to get all into their hands, to which end *Thomas*, Brother to the Lord *Boyd* (appointed to Instruēt the King in Martial Discipline and Exercises) endeavoureth by evil Counsel, to Alienate his Majesty's affections from all those Nobles, to whose Tuition he was committed; and watching his opportunity, the King following his Sport with a small Retinue nigh *Lulibquo*, is forcibly snatched out of the hands of *Kennedie* Earl *Castles*, by the fore-said *Thomas*, not without some Violence offered to the Person of the old Earl.

And

And now begins the Devil of Deadly Fewd to work, the *Boydes* bring the King to *Edenburgh*: *Kennedie*, and divers others repair to their several homes, watching opportunity of revenge: the *Boyds* observing the Nobility to keep from Court, procure a Parliament to be called, in which *Robert* the Chief of the *Boydes* upon his bended knees, complaineth of the hard Construction put upon the King's remove from *Linlithgow*, beseeching his Majesty to declare his sense and pleasure in that business, whether he or any of his had therein offended his Highness: the young King, what through the fear of their Power, and afraid of their flattering words, with which they had seasoned him, declareth, that *What they did was good Service done, deserving rather a Retward, than any Punishment*: this Declaration was Recorded in the Books of Parliament, and an instrument to this effect given the Lord *Byd* under the Broad-Seal, and the same day he is declared Vice-Roy, until his Majesty should happily arrive at the age of One and Twenty: and as an addition to all his Greatness, *Mary*, the King's eldest Sister is given in Marriage to *Thomas* Son to the said *Robert* Lord *Byd*. And now such Foundations being laid, they promise themselves security, in this great Pomp and Prosperity. But behold the vanity of the World, the envy of the People, the emulation of the Peers, and the alienation of the King's mind suddenly overthrow all.

1467

1468. About this time the Lord Chancellor is sent to *Denmark*, to demand *Margaret*, Daughter to the *Danish* King, in Marriage to *James* King of *Scotland*; he safely arrived, is honourably entertained, and the Marriage immediately concluded. *Denmark's* Interest in *Shitland* and *Orkney* given in lieu of her Dower.

The happy Issue of this Embassage being signified to the King, an Ambassadour, with a Train of young Noble Men and Gentlemen, is appointed to be sent over into *Denmark*, to attend the young Queen into *Scotland*: the young Lord *Boyd* Earl of *Aran*, and now Brother in Law to the King, is on all hands thought the fittest Man for this Service, the young Lord accepts of his Honourable Employment, and with a very stately Train, sets Sail about the end of *August*; no sooner is he gone than a Parliament is called to Assemble *November* 22d. in which the *Boydes* are all accused of High-Treason: *Robert* the Chief flyeth into *England*, *Alexander* his Brother appeareth and Pleadeth for himself, is adjudged Guilty, Condemned and Beheaded: the Treason charged on both, was Violence offered to the King's Person when they forcibly pulled him out of the Arms of the old Earl of *Kennedy* *Michlinlithquo*; Behold the Uncertainty of humane Judgments, the same Fact declared Good Service in one Parliament, is in another judged High-Treason.

1470. The next Spring the *Danish* Fleet arriveth with the young Queen; after her Reception with very great expressions of Joy, the Marriage

riage is Solemnized in a great Concourte of the Nobility. The Lord *Boyd* hearing of the Disasters of his Family, dares not Land to partake of this Solemnity, but goeth a solitary Man beyond the Seas, and is entertained by the Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom he was Honoured above all others for his gallant Service in War; but in *Scotland* another account is made of him, where he is declared Traitor, and his Lands confiscated; and to add to his Calamity the King recalleth His Sister, Married to the Earl; and being encouraged by some of the Nobility, with hopes of a Reconciliation between the King and her Lord, by her presence to intercede, over she comes in obedience to the King's Command; being arrived, a Divorce from her Husband is presently propounded, in order whereunto publick Summons are given at his House in *Kilmernock*, and at the chief Sea-ports in the Kingdom, requiring his return within Sixty days, according to the Law; which he not performing (not daring indeed to perform) by reason of his non-adherence, a Divorce issueth out, and the former Marriage declared Null.

The Divorce published, the young Lady is Married, not without her great grief and reluctance, at the King's special and peremptory Command, to *James Earl Hamilton*, (the issue of which unhappy Marriage proved in most after-Generations, an unhappy Annoyance to the Crown, by whom she had *James* and *Margaret*.)

1472.

1473.

The Lord *Boyd* out-lives not this Disaster, dyeth with Grief at *Antwerp*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* erected for him a most stately Tomb; thus in a trice, fell the flourishing Family of the *Boyd*s, a real Instance of the instability and vanity of the World.

These Stirs over, the Peace is renewed with *England*, and at home Disturbances not many nor great: But this Calm lasted not long, Fears and Jealousies, the bane of all States, disturb all, and like an evil Spirit, divide between the King and the Nobility; Affairs standing thus, his Majesty useth the Counsels of some Knights and Gentlemen, in whose wisdom and integrity he confided much; this enrageth the Nobility yet more: and as if this had not been afflictious enough, his younger Brother *John*, conspireth his Death, by the means of wicked Sorcerers, for which Treason he is condemned to Dye by the opening of a Vein, which accordingly was executed: *Alexander* the other Brother suspected conscious to this Treason, is Committed to *Edenburgh* Castle; from thence he Escapeth, and Saileth into *France*, where he takes to Wife the Daughter of the Earl of *Bononia*.

Ambassadours are again sent from *England* to renew the Peace, and to Ratifie the same by a new Affinity of an inter-marriage between *James*, Son to King *James*, and the Lady *Cicilie*, Daughter to King *Edward*, to be Solemnized so soon as both come to age fit for Marriage; in the mean while a part of the Dowry to be paid



paid down, and in case the Marriage happened not to be Consummated, the same to be repaired to the *English*.

These things were all happily concluded; 1475. but the more was the pity, not very long observed: *Douglas* an old Exile, and *Alexander* the King's Brother, (by this time come over to *England*) perswade King *Edward* to War against the *Scots*; and on the other hand King *Lewis* of *France*, incites King *James* against the *English*: King *Edward* levieth Twenty thousand Men, pretending to vindicate some Wrongs done by some late Inroads made by the *Scots*; and under the Command of the Duke of *Glocester*, accompanied with divers Noble Men, amongst whom was *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, they March Northward; King *James* prepareth an Army for defence, advanceth to *Lawder*, not far from the Borders, where the discontent of some of the Nobility breaketh out into Violence against the King's Counsellors; they Surprise them in the Night, and drag most of them from the King's presence, and are all by special influence of the Earl of *Angus* (Sir *John Ramsay* only except) immediately hanged in the view of the Army; their great Crime (save that some of them were advanced to the dignity of Noble Men) was the Coyning of Brass Money, in use many days before, and continueth in that Kingdom to this day: The truth is, the King's Favour to them, and their Faith to the King, was their greatest Treason.

After this Disaster the Army dissolveth, the King returneth to *Edenburgh*, with no less Fear than Grief and Indignation.

The Duke of *Glocester* advanceth to the Gates of *Edenburgh*, leaving Four thousand of his Army to Besiege the Castle of *Berwick*: the Nobility in this distraction raiseth an Army to stop this Current; *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, with the consent of the Duke of *Glocester*, goeth over into the *Scots* Army, where the Command in chief (so handlomely was the Game played) is immediately transferred to him; a Treaty immediately set on foot; by agreement *Berwick* is immediately surrendered; the Duke returns to *England*, and a Truce for certain Years appointed.

1480.

King *Edward* having seen so many late strange Mutations in *England*, and fearing the like fate to King *James* which had happened to some of the *English* Kings, viz. the ruine of his Family; sendeth an Herald to *Scotland*, and at *Edenburgh* proclaimeth the late contract of Marriage between the two young Princesses to be void, demanding the repayment of that part of the Dowry paid: King *James* being now at more liberty than before, repayeth the Money not without some Indignation.

1484.

Duke *Alexander* perceiving that his Majestys Eye was upon him, and that his traiterous Design to compass the Crown was discovered; flyeth privately into *England* and betrayeth the Castle of *Dunbar* to King *Edward*; the Parliament declareth him Traitor, pardoning all his Associates;

Associates : after pardon granted , *Chrichton* Son to the late Chancellor, keepeth Correspondence with the Duke ; is summoned to answer, disobeyeth, and is Banished.

The Duke and Earl *Douglas* both Exiles, resolve to try their Fortune and Favour of the People, return to *Scotland* with Five hundred Horse ; the Country riseth against them ; after a bloody Conflict nigh *Lough Maban*, the Duke is overthrown, and escapeth : *Douglas* is apprehended and sent Prisoner to *Lindores*.

By this time King *Edward* of England dieth, and committeth his Son *Edward* the Fifth, to the Tuiton of his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, the Duke impiously Murdereth his two Nephews, and setteth himself on the Throne. Immediately he sendeth his Ambassadors to *Scotland*, to treat for Peace. King *James* in detestation of their Master, refuseth them Audience ; at last with much ado Audience is granted ; no Peace could be obtained, a Truce only for three Years concluded, by reason of the King's own unsettled condition.

1485.

Soon after this Truce King *Richard* is killed at *Bosworth* Field : *Henry* the Seventh obtaineth the Crown and cometh in Person to *Newcastle*, from whence he sendeth his Ambassadors to *Scotland*, *Richard* Fox Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard* *Edgecombe* ; they are Honourably received ; their Master and the matter of their Embassy, which was Peace, both indear them to King *James*, who very freely told them that there was nothing he desired more than Peace, though he

durst not promise a lasting Peace with *England*, by reason of the restless and unquiet Spirits of his Nobility, which he heartily bemoaned to them, adjuring them to conceal from his Nobles, the earnest desire he had of Peace, from which he knew they would be the more averse, finding him bent towards it: and in fine, he prayeth them to rest satisfied with a Truce for Seven Years, promising that before the determination thereof, he on his part should be ready to renew it Seven Years more, as one passionately desirous to live in peace with the *English* all his Life. This Answer is returned to King *Henry*, and a Truce accordingly for Seven Years concluded.

In the mean while *Alexander* Duke of *Albany* dieth in *France*, leaving behind him two Sons, *Alexander* and *John*, afterwards Vice-Roy in *Scotland*: King *James* now promiseth himself some quiet, (the Original of all his troubles removed) and in order thereunto, he Proclaims a general Pardon, receiveth his Enemies into Favour, Honoureth some, Inricheth many, and admitteth others into his most Secret Counsels.

1486.

But all this cannot serve his turn, their Guilt, they thought, was greater than could be forgiven; this Gangreen'd in their thoughts every day, so deadly an enemy is Guilt and Fear, being always companions, and come to that height, that the King's Life and their Safety cannot consist; his Ruine is therefore contrived and resolved on, the want of a Popular Leader is a main



main Rub, in their way : The Prince himself is thought the fittest to countenance this horrid Design : His Keepers are corrupted : The young and unwary Prince seduced, and to their Proposition he must yeild, otherwise they deal plainly with him, to tell him that he and the Regal Power both, must be delivered into the Hands of King Henry of England : Thus the young Prince is frighted from all Duty and Loyalty to his Dearest Father, to countenance as Commander in chief, a most Traiterous Combination of perverse and seditious Men : An Army is forthwith raised in pursuance of their Design. The King prepareth for Defence; useth all honourable means for Peace, and by mediation of the Earl of Athol his Uncle, soliciteth for it; the Rebels return an Answer, telling him, *That unless he resign his Crown to his Son, and depart the Kingdom, there could be no Peace.*

This Answer the King dispatcheth to his Ambassadors in France, and England, requiring them to request the Assistance of both Kings, in this common cause, wherein all Kings are concerned; who accordingly send their Ambassadors to the Scots, declaring their proceedings against their King to be Wicked and Pernicious, and not to be endured by Christian Princes so much concerned in such a dangerous Example: The Pope is likewise sent to, to interpose his Ghostly and Paternal Power; who accordingly sendeth to his Legate, *Adrian de Castello an Italian*, the great Restorer of the Latine Tongue, then in England, forthwith to apply himself to Compose the

Scottish



*Scottish* troubles; but all in vain, as being too late; the Rebels Army presseth towards the King's, Incamped by *Blackness*: and to make all sure they Assail him as well by Fraud as Force: Some of his Council about him are corrupted, so are likewise some of his Commanders in Martial Affairs, especially the Governor of *Sterlin*; the Key of the Kingdom, the corrupt Council about him, with fair pretences, perswade him to appear on the head of his Army, and to forsake the Castle of *Edenburgh* (where he resolved to secure himself until he heard the result of Foreign Counsels) assuring him that *Sterlin* then in the Rere of his Army, and in the hands of Faithful Men, was a place of no less security for his Person, than was *Edenburgh* Castle, and of far greater advantage to receive Recruits, and all other accommodations for his Army, having the benefit of the Countrey behind him, and his Navy not far from him. This Counsel was so fair and promising, that even such as were faithful to him, perswade him to it; and according to this advice the King repaireth to *Sterlin*; the Governor, *Sey*, perceiving the Rebels Army pressing after the King's, Traiterously refuseth Entrance to him. The poor King is now in a Pound, and with his small Army is forced to Fight; his Majesty beaveth himself very gallantly, and routeth the Van of his Enemies: but their Reserve regains all; the King's Army is overthrown, himself dismounted and wounded; privately flyeth into a Mill, hoping to get into his Navy,

but

but the fatal hour approacheth, some of the Rebels discovering him, pursue after him, and impiously Murther him and all the faithful remnant of his Servants about him.

Thus died King *James* the Third, a good and peaceable Man, every way well disposed, but plagued by the Ambition of restless and unquiet Spirits, who Traiterously sought and wrought his Ruine.

The Battel over and no news of the King, the Rebels supposing that he had gained his Navy, send to Sir *Andrew Wood*, chief Captain of the Ships, *Seton* and *Fleming* being left Hostages in the Navy, Sir *Andrew* appeareth before the Chief of them, called the Prince his Council, being demanded whether, his Majesty was aboard the Navy, and what those Boats were that passed to and fro, before and after the Battel? Stoutly replied that his Majesty was not aboard, for which he was the more sorrowful; and as to the Boats, they transported himself, and other faithful Subjects to the King's assistance, conformable to the duty of their Allegiance, whom alone they were resolved to serve, were he alive to be benefited by their service; but now being Slain in Battel by some barbarous Rebels, they resolved to avenge his Death to the last drop of their Blood: having sufficiently declaimed against the wickedness of that horrid Rebellion, and all engaged in it; he is remitted safely to his Navy by reason of the Hostages given in pledge for him.

1487.  
1488.

The

The Rebels retreat to *Edenburgh*, where notice is given to them of the King's death; the news whereof pierces the heart and soul of the young Prince, now, when too late, sensible of his Error, and sadly resenting his great unhappiness, and above that his deadly sin, in being accessary to the misfortune of his dearest Father, causeth a stately Funeral to be solemnized for him at *Kammiskeneth*, an Abby nigh *Sterlin*, where his Corps were Interred; and for himself he prepared an Iron Chain, with which he begirt himself, wearing it all the days of his Life about his middle close to his Skin, in testimony of the deep sense he had of his sin, adding yearly one Ring thereunto, not so much to enlarge it as to remember the sad occasion of it.

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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
J A M E S I V.

**J**AMES the Third thus unhappily fallen under the hands of merciless Men, his Son *James* Succeedeth, and entreth his Reign, Anno 1488, who sorrowful enough (if in such a case any sorrow can be enough) for his Father's Fall, which could not be recovered; laboureth to compose all Differences, and to reunite the two grand Factions, in order to a peaceable Reign, to which end having the Castles of *Edenburgh* and *Sterlin* Surrendered to him, a Messenger is sent to Sir *Andrew Wood* Captain of the Ships, to call him to attend his Majesty's pleasure; the publick Faith being pledged for his safety, the Captain repaireth to Court: the King, with inexpressible sorrow and

1489.

and immoderate grief, regretting what was past, and representing the present dangers of the State by the unhappy Divisions of the Kingdom, he prevailed with the Captain to submit to him, and to take Commission from him to reduce five *English* Ships, roving and robbing all along the Coast; which with small loss and trouble he performed, assisted only with two Ships, the *English* Ships are brought from *Dunbar* (where the Conflict was) to *Leith*, and their Captain presented to King *James*, who munificently rewarded Sir *Andrew* for this gallant piece of Service.

In the mean while the Nobility, who were Loyal to the late King, send their Messengers to their Friends, adjuring all such as had any sense of their present oppressions, not to be so stupid as to endure the Usurped Power of those Men, who breaking through all the Laws of God and Man, Murthered the last King, detaining upon the matter this present King under the bondage of their own Wills, which tyranny was so much the rather not to be endured, because they arrogated to themselves to be called the Restorers and Preservers of the *Scottish* Liberties, when indeed they exercised a most cruel and unsupportable Tyranny, keeping their fellow Subjects in Slavery, and abusing the King's Authority, to the final destruction of all those who were faithful to his Father, and to inflame the affections of the People the more, *Alexander Forbese*, chief of that Family carrieth on the point of a Spear, through *Aberdeen*, and all



all the cheif Towns, and Cities in the North, the King's Shirt, torn in divers pieces, and all bloody by the Wounds his Majesty received; inviting all Men who had any sence of Humanity or Religion, to avenge that horrid Murder: the Earl of *Lennox* bestirring himself on this side *Forth*, to the same purpose, an Army in this Popular fury rolleth together as in a moment; marcheth to *Sterlin*, where finding the Bridge Fortified, resolve to Foard over some Miles above, where they that night Encamped without Order, or Watch, or any persons designed for the exercise of Military Discipline: This looseness is bewrayed to the Enemy, who advanceth, Surpriseth all, Killeth many, and Imprisoneth more, some of whom, were afterwards put to death: Thus was this tumultuary Army as suddenly ruined as raised.

This Tumult over, King *Henry* of *England* enraged at the disaster of his five Ships, and looking upon it as a publick dishonour, propoundeth great Rewards to all such as would undertake to bring to him *Wood* the *Scotch* Captain, dead or alive; Sir *Stephen Bull* undertaketh the Service, and with three choice Ships of the *English* Navy, setteth Sail, casts Anchor at the *May*, where he attends Captain *Wood* then returning from *Holland*: in few days *Wood* appeareth; the Ships draw up, and give Fire, Fighting bitterly all that day; next day morning the Conflict is renewed, they Grapple, and fasten by Iron Hooks their Ships one to another, fighting with that eagerness, that none of them perceiving the

1490. the motion of the Tide, all are carried over to the Mouth of *Tay*, where the Water being shallow, and the *English* Ships great, and in danger of the Sands, the *English* are forced to yield; the Ships are brought to *Dundee*, 10. *August*, 1490. Sir *Stephen Bull*, and other the most eminent Officers and Gentlemen are brought to King *James*, by whom they were Nobly entertained; after much commendation of their Valour, he grants them their Liberty, desiring them to return with their Ships, with a tender of his Royal Respects to their Master, King *Henry*.

King *Henry* much pleased, returneth thanks to King *James*, declaring the great Esteem and honourable Respect he bare to him for his Royal and extraordinary Munificence.

By this time a Parliament is called in *Edenburgh*, where his Majesty endeavoured by all possible means, a Composure of the grand Divisions of the Kingdom; some Laws are enacted for preservation of the Peace, and the late unhappy Battel nigh *Sterlin*, where the King was Slain, is so hudled up, that the business of that Day should never after be remembred to the Prejudice of either Parties; a very strange Close, considering that this Convention was composed most of such as opposed the former King: The moderation and discretion of the young King, not yet arrived at the Fifteenth Year of his Age, was such, that a Concord is made up far above all means, hope or expectation, every man had a dutiful regard to so hopeful a Prince.

Being

Being thus settled the reflections of his Grace appear daily more evidently towards his Fathers Friends; two of his own Cousins, Daughters to his Aunt *Mary*, he bestows in Marriage to two Eminent Men amongst them; the one (Daughter to the Lord *Boyd*) to the Lord *Forbes*, the other, (Daughter to Earl *Hamilton*) to *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*.

And to Manifest the deep sense he had of his Father's Fall, he begirt himself with an Iron Chain, as I have mentioned before; which galled the hearts of the Rebellious Faction, his pretended Friends, more than it did his own Flesh, though it made impressions therein deep enough; insomuch that Fear more than Love restrained them from breaking out against him.

About this time a strange Monster was born in *Scotland*, a Male Child, which from the Navel downward differed nothing from the common form of other Men, but from the Navel upward there were two distinct Truncks of the Body, with Head, Arms, and all other Members as to two several individual Persons: the Faces were one towards another, what the one did was by the advice and consent of the other, and if either transgress'd this Rule, Strife arose between them, and peradventure Blows, oftentimes Scratching, Nipping, and Pricking one another; if they received a Punch or Blow, below the Navel, both were sensible, but if above, where their Members were distinct only, he was sensible whose parts were  
G touched;

1492.

touched: This Monster King *James* carefully educated, and caused them to be instituted in the knowledg of Letters, wherein they marvelously profited, especially in the knowledge of diverse Tongues; they were most exquisite in Musick, and both admired for the sweetness of their voices; they lived some twenty eight years; the one died before the other some three or four Months; by the smell of the defunct body, the survivor was much annoyed, and daily languished until the hour of his death.

And about the same time too, a Monstrous Cheat came into *Scotland*, and much cherished by the King too, *Peter Werbeck*, who pretending himself to be Son to King *Edward* the Fourth of *England*, happily escaped from the cruel Claws of his Uncle *Richard*, had admittance to King *James* his presence, who behaved himself with a behaviour so bebecoming his condition, and in a most eloquent Oration did so pathetically deliver himself, touching the distress of his Family, and his own marvellous preservation, that the King and most of his Council, though not without the reluctancy of some of the wiser, took compassion of him, and resenting his condition as the common interest of all Princes, with incredible, in consideration, promise him assistance towards the regaining of his just Rights; provoked, the rather, as was pretended, to satisfy such as opposed *Peter's* design, by the breach of Truce made by the *English* Ships whilst *Scotland* was gasping under the confusion of a Civil War, indeed the late horrid Rebellion



lion in which *James* the Third perished: *Peter* is highly honoured, and exposed to the People by the Title of the Duke of *York*: a most virtuous and beautiful Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to Earl *Huntley*, one of the chief Peers of that Nation, is given to him in Marriage; an Army is likewise levied, and marcheth into *England*; passeth quietly through *Northumberland*, no adverse Army appearing, nay, nor any one Man coming in to own *Peter* the pretended Prince: King *James* admiring that no man would own him, persuading himself that it was not only Love to their own rest and quiet, but likewise dislike of his Claim and Title, returneth home with his Army, and Winter drawing on, Disbandeth it: This sudden change smites *Peter's* Soul with sorrow; but such was his cunning that he pretends to be well pleased, devoutly professing rather never to come to his Crown, than to make his way through the blood of his People.

King *Henry* hearing of the *Scots* return, resolveth for all that, to avenge himself; to which end he commandeth a powerful Army to be raised under the Conduct of the Lord *Dawbeny*: The Spring drawing on, and the Army ready to March, a Rebellion breaketh out in *Cornwall*, and diverteth all; King *Henry* is forced to wave his Northern Expedition, and to apply his Forces to Suppress the Western Insurrection:



The *Scots* hearing of an Army prepared against them, forthwith roll together some considerable Forces, and with an Army of some Thousands of Horse and Foot, advance to the Borders of *England*; but such was the Wisdom of *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham*, and the Vigilance of the Earl of *Surrey*, that the *Scots* soon return, no great harm done; the *English* follow soon after them, take, and demolish, the Laird of *Aton* his House, some four Miles from *Berwick*, and forthwith retreat.

King *Henry* sendeth the *Spanish* Ambassador *Peter Hialus* (then lying at *London*, to treat of a Marriage between a Daughter of *Spain*, and *Arthur*, Son to King *Henry*) to *Scotland*, to use his best endeavours to compose the Differences between the two Kingdoms; King *James* yieldeth such a willing and ready ear to the Ambassador, that he forthwith sendeth to King *Henry*, to desire some *English* Commissioners to be sent down to expedite the Treaty so fairly begun: the King commandeth the Bishop of *Durham* to joyn with the Ambassador; the Commissioners on both sides meet at *Jedburgh*: The *English* press the delivering of *Werbeck* to their King's Justice; the *Scots* desire to be excused, their Publick Faith being engaged for his Safety, which in no case must be violated. This blasts all hopes of Peace; yet such was the Wisdom of the Commissioners, that a Truce for some few Months was agreed on.

The Treaty dissolved, King *James* fairly dismisseth his chargeable Guest, *Werbeck*, with a very plentiful *Viaticum*, *Werbeck* Landeth in *Ireland*, thence Wasteth himself over into *England*, and joyneth with the Remnants of the *Cornish* Rebels; is at last catch'd; confesseth the whole Cheat, and is Hanged: his Wife is by all much pitied, and honourably entertained by King *Henry*, from whom she received such a liberal Pention as honourably maintained her all her Life.

1494.

New Stirs fall out between the Borders, by reason of some Wrongs done by the *English* Garison at *Norham*. King *James* complaineth, and required satisfaction of King *Henry*, who very fairly promised it; to which end the Bishop of *Durham* is sent into *Scotland*, who by his wisdom very speedily composeth all things.

At their Conferences, which was at *Melcofs*, King *James* makes known to the Bishop, the earnest desire he had to have *Margaret*, eldest Daughter to King *Henry*, given him in Marriage, as a Pledge to assure a mutual Peace between the two Kingdoms; and craveth the Bishop's assistance in so good a work: The Bishop cherishes his desires, and chearfully promiseth his assistance: To which purpose he presently posteth to *London*, and acquainteth his Majesty of *England* with the desires of the *Scotch* King. King *Henry* is well pleased with the proposition; whereof the Bishop gives speedy notice to King *James*: The Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, and the Earl *Bothwell*, are dispatched

1496.

Ambassadors to demand the Lady in Marriage to their King; the Marriage is concluded in a very short time; the Espousals published at *Paul's Cross*; the Earl *Bothwell* Espoused her in the Name of King *James*: Next summer the Lady is sent into *Scotland*, attended by the Earls of *Surrey* and *Northumberland*: King *James* received her, attended by the cheif of his Nobility at *St. Lambert's Church* in *Lamermoor* in *Scotland*, and the Year following Solemnly Married her at *Edenburgh*; for some Years following enjoying a sweet calm of Peace, they lived very happily: The King buildeth divers fair Edifices, as his Castle at *Sterlin* (which if he had lived to finish it in proportion to its beginning, had been a most stupendious work) his Pallace at *Falkeland*, and some others: and divers Ships likewise he commanded to be built, such and so great, as in those days no Christian King had; but amidst all this prosperity and joy, the Iron Chain pincheth him, and his Father's untimely Death (to which he ever thought himself accessary, because by his Presence he countenanced and strengthened those Cruel hands which impiously Murdered him) lyeth heavy upon his Spirit.

In this anguish of Spirit he resolveth, according to the Superstition of those Days, to Travel to *Jerusalem*, there to Mourn away some part of his time, and to do such Acts of Penance as might expiate his Crimes; his Navy is prepared, his Attendants appointed,

neigh-

neighbouring Princes acquainted with his design for his more safe and free passage; in the mean while, Wars break out between *Spain* and *France*, and by the earnest entreaty of the *Spaniard*; the *English* King sends over an Army to Invade the Kingdom of *France*; many other Princes likewise combine against the *French*: King *James* perceiving such extraordinary stirs, and not knowing what might be the issue of them, is persuaded by his Council to lay aside his Journey for a season.

The *French* King in this strait, earnestly solicites him, according to their Ancient League, to make a diversionary War against *England*; the *Scottish* Clergy put him on what may be, but all in vain, he resolves not to stir, having indeed no just nor honourable Quarrel, only with much ado he was at last wrought on to grant the sending out of his Navy for the guard of the *French* Seas, which proved the ruine of those gallant Ships before mentioned.

*James Hamilton* Earl of *Aran* is sent Admiral in this Naval Expedition, who, willingly it should seem, mistaking his way, arriveth at *Knock-Fergus* in *Ireland*, pillageth and burneth the Town; and as if he had performed a gallant and acceptable piece of Service, returneth to *Aire* in *Scotland*; King *James* advertised of this exploit and of his return, is highly enraged, gives Commission to *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas*, to take Command of the Navy, and Summons *Hamilton* to answer for the unsufferable wrong done to his Friend and

1500.



Ally : who having notice of the King's wrath, setteth Sail, and arriveth in *France*, disposing of his Tackling and all his War-like Instruments, as seemed good to himself, he layeth up his Navy in *Brest*, where it consumed to nothing.

The restless Borderers soon weary of Peace, fall to their old trade of Depredation, mutual Inroads are made, and mischief enough done on both sides: and at this time two *Scottish* Merchants Ships are unhappily taken by the *English* Admiral: The *Scottish* King is much discontented, which the *French* Ambassador *Lamote*, layeth hold on as the fittest opportunity to work him into a War against the *English*; his pernicious perswasions, seconded with the daily solicitations of the *Scottish* Clergy, especially *Foreman* Bishop of *Murray*, his Ambassador then in *France*, prevail too much, and overcome him at last to denounce by his Herald War against King *Henry* then in *France*, who answered the Herald with expressions of the greatest disdain that could be; Arms are raised on both sides, the *Scots* under the Command of their King, the *English* under the Conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*: Both Armies advance, and at last joyn Battel at *Flodden* in *Northumberland*; the Battel is exceedingly furious, and continueth some hours within Night, the darkness whereof commandeth at last a Cessation of Arms: No man knowing on whose side the Victory lay, each Army thinking it self worsted: The Earl of *Hume*, who traiterously



traiterously refused to joyn in Battel; with his Brigade enricheth himself with the Spoil of the Field, and departeth by break of day: at which instant the Lord *Dacres* came into Field, and finding the *Scotch* Carriages without Guard and the Camp not wholly Pillaged, dispatcheth a Messenger to the Earl of *Surrey* forthwith to Rally, and to return, which was with marvellous Expedition performed; no Enemy appearing, and now the Day being up, the *English* Celebrate the Victory with great Joy.

1510.

This Overthrow is reckoned by the *Scots* the greatest that ever befel them, not so much for the Number, as the Quality of the Slain, many of the Nobility and Gentry, besides Five thousand common Souldiers were killed on the place; King *James* himself never after appeared, what to determine of him, I know not; the *English* contend that he was killed in the Battel, his Body found and exposed to publick View; the *Scots* assert, that the Corps so exposed, were the Relicts of Sir *Alexander Elphinston*, in Habit, Stature and Figure, resembling their King, as some others did that day, the better to encourage the Army: Some contend that he escaped into *Scotland* after the Battel, and was traiterously Murdered by the Retainers of the Earl of *Hume* nigh *Kelfo*, to avoid his wrath for their Treachery on the day of Battel: and some there are who are bold enough to assert, that the King perceiving the huge Slaughter of the Nobi-

Nobility and Gentry, privately withdrew himself, and in an obscure habit travelled as a Pilgrim to *Jerusalem*, to make good his former Vow, where he spent the remnant of his days in Sorrow: however it was, certain it is, That after the Battel he never appeared to the World: A Prince of a most comely Person, and of that moderation and temper, that no provocation could force from him any the least intemperate word, and yet a man of an undaunted, and indeed too resolute a Spirit, very much inclined to Mercy, never executing Penal Justice without grief and sorrow of Heart. I leave him with that Epitaph he had bestowed upon him for his wanting of a Tomb.

*Fama orbem replet, mortem sors occulit at tu  
Desine scrutari, quod tegit, ossa solum.  
Si mihi dent animo non impar fata sepulchrum  
Augusta est tumulo terra Britanna meo.*

THE  
L I F E  
O F  
J A M E S V.

**J**AMES the Fourth thus lost, his Son *James*, a Child of two years of Age is Proclaim-  
ed King; the Queen his Mother (con-  
formable to the last Will of the King,  
published before his last Expedition towards  
*England*, in which it was provided, that the  
Queen should have the Supreme Power du-  
ring the time of her Widowhood, and the  
King his Minority) hath the Supreme Go-  
vernment committed to her, and as a tender  
Mother, writeth with all earnestness to her  
Brother, King *Henry* the Eighth of *England*,  
imploring his Royal and Fraternal favour;  
particularly that he would be pleased out of  
his tender regard to her and her young Son,  
to

to abstain from War against the *Scots*; King *Henry* very nobly returneth Answer, that the *Scots* should be choosers of War or Peace: this gladdened the heart of the *Scottish Queen*, who assuredly by her discreet Government, had proved a Nursing Mother to that Nation, but that within one year she was pleased to Marry herself to *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, by which Marriage her Government determined; and immediately Divisions break out amongst the Nobility, touching the choice of a Vice-Roy: The *Dowglasses* wholly for the Queen; the Earl of *Hume*, a Person then of great Power and Authority, opposeth her, contending for a free Choice to be made of one of the Nobility; after much Debate, it was at last concluded that the Duke of *Albany* (*John*, Son to *Robert*, Brother to *James* the Third) should be declared Vice-Roy; which being done, Letters are dispatched to him, then an Exile in *France*: The Duke accepteth the Honour and Charge, and arriveth at *Dunbarton* about the 8th. of *May*, 1515; forthwith in Parliament is the Duke restored to his Patrimony, and declared Vice-Roy.

1515.

The Vice-Roy beginneth his Government in a Progress all the Kingdom over, endeavouring to establish Peace among all.

The Earl of *Hume*, the great Instrument of the Vice-Roy his advancement, finding himself much neglected, repenteth him of his Service done to him, and tenders the same to the Queen, whom he formerly opposed, suggest-  
ing

ing to her the danger of the young King now in the hands of such a Vice-Roy; whose Father for his traiterous Conspiring against the King, and his ambitious aspiring the Crown, was Exiled to his dying day, the present Vice-Roy his Son, born and brought up likewise in Exile, appearing a man of no less Ambition than his Father; the young King the only Rub in his way to the Crown, must needs therefore be in great danger, if some extraordinary Expedient be not found out for his Safety; and in order hereunto he adviseth her, to withdraw herself and her Son into *England*, under the Protection of her Brother, who so largely the other day declared his Royal affection and favour towards her: All is soon and secretly bewrayed to the Vice-Roy, who immediately surpriseth the King and his Mother the Queen in the Castle of *Sterlin*: The Queen and all *Douglas* his Faction, are removed from the King, the Tuition of whom he commits to the care of three Noble Men, besides the Lord *Areskin* Governour of the Castle: The Lord *Hume* and his Brother withdrew to *England*; the Queen and the Earl of *Angus* her Husband soon follow after; the Vice-Roy sendeth his Agents after them, and complaineth of their Causeless departure: All of them are by their Friends perswaded to return, the Queen only, being heavy with Child, is advised to stay, where soon after she was brought to Bed of a Daughter, Named *Margaret*.

The



The Earl of *Hume* Summoned to appear before the Vice-Roy in a publick Convention, is Condemned, and his Estate confiscate because of non-appearance: Ten thousand Horse and Foot are raised to reduce him; which the Earl perceiving, he casteth himself upon the Faith and Favour of the Vice-Roy; by whose command *Hume* is committed to the Custody of *James Hammliton* Earl of *Aran*, engaging the Earl under pain of Treason for his Security. *Hume* glad of so favourable a Keeper, persuades *Hammliton* to withdraw with him, and to take upon himself the Supreme Government, as being equal in Propinquity of Blood to the King, (though by a Sister) with the Vice-Roy himself; *Hammliton* hearkneth to him; the Earl of *Lennox*, *Hammliton* his Nephew, joyneth with them; after a few Stirs they return next Spring to Court, are pardoned and reconciled.

1515.

The Vice-Roy retireth to *Faulkland*, and after some Months, returneth to *Edenburgh*, and thither inviteth *Hume* and his Brother, who contrary to the advice of all his Friends, obeyeth: A Convention of his Peers is called: *Hume* and his Brother without objection of any Crime not formerly pardoned, are Condemned, and Beheaded at *Edenburgh*, their Heads likewise set up in the two most publick places of the City.

1520.

The Vice-Roy next Winter passeth over into *France*, leaving his Charge in the hands of *Angus*, *Aran* and *Arguile*, the Arch-Bishop

of St. *Andrews* and *Glasgow*, to whom he ad-  
joyned *Darvie*, Governour of *Dunbar*, a *French-*  
*man*, assigning to each of them his Province;  
soon after *Darvie* is killed by the *Humes*,  
having, as they conceived, a chief influence  
in the Death of the late Earl; this Mur-  
ther much troubled the rest intrusted with  
the publick Affairs; a Messenger is dispatched  
to the Vice-Roy to desire his return.

After five Years absence, and much Confu-  
sion all the Kingdom over by the Feuds,  
especially of *Douglas* and *Hamilton*, the Vice-  
Roy returneth October 28th. 1521; *Douglas*  
is Banished to *France*: an Army is raised  
to divert the *English*, then Warring in *France*,  
and marcheth towards the Borders of *England*:  
the Nobility refuse to March out of *Scotland*;  
the Vice-Roy much perplexed, sendeth to  
the Lord *Dacres*, Governour of the *English*  
Borders, and desireth a Conference with him;  
*Dacres*, the publick Faith being ingaged for  
his Safety, cometh into the *Scots* Camp, and  
after some Debate, a Truce for some Years is  
concluded.

The Vice-Roy goeth again to *France*: King  
*Henry* notwithstanding of the Lord *Dacres* his  
Truce, sendeth an Army into *Scotland*, under  
the Conduct of *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*; af-  
ter some waste done in *Merse* and *Trivdale*, the  
Earl retreats; for revenge whereof the *Scotch*  
Borderers make Inroads into *England*, which  
provoketh the Earl to return into *Scotland* to  
set on Fire the Town of *Jedburgh*; which  
done,

done, he retreats the second time without fight of an Enemy.

The Queen Mother, now returned from *England*, endeavours a Peace between the two Nations: King *Henry* (with a design to break off the Ancient League between the *Scots* and the *French*) tendereth a fair proposition of Marriage of his Daughter *Mary* to *James* the King of *Scots*: Some heartily embrace his Motion, pleading for a solemn League and Covenant with *England*, declaring the great Benefits, which should redound, from such an Union, to both Nations; some again strangely oppose it, pretending that the League with *France*, of the benefits whereof they have had so long experience, could neither in Policy nor Honesty be Violated; as for a Covenant with *England*, though it be possible that some good may come of it; Yet, knowing that as Covenants, ratified by solemn Oaths, with hands lifted up to God, are amongst good Men the strongest of all Obligations; so by some others they are only made use on as Snares to entrap and Engines to catch the Credulous to their destruction, which done, then are Covenants laid aside as Almanacks out of date; Therefore, said they, *Let us not be so fond as to relinquish our experienced Good, for that which is in Hope only, and may possibly, ay, and probably too, deceive us.*

By this time the Vice-Roy landeth in the West with Thre thousand Foot, and an Hundred Curasiers; at *Glasgow*, divers new levied Forces  
Ren-

Rendezvouz with them; the Vice-Roy cometh himself to *Edenburgh*, calleth a Council of the Nobility, commendeth their Fidelity and Stability to the *French*, assureth them of the reciprocal affection and constancy of the *French* to them and their Nation; and in fine, with all earnestness he inciteth them to an Expedition against *England*: This last motion takes not well, the Nobility attending him only to the *English* Borders, protest against an Invasion; the Vice-Roy is forced to abate of his vigour against *England*, yet the *French* must be sent to try their valour against *Wark* Castle, where being soundly banged, they return with hast enough to the *Scotch* quarters: King *Henry* vigilant enough towards his affairs, raiseth an Army of Forty Thousand Horse and Foot, marcheth towards *Scotland*, the *Scots* retreat to *Lawder*, a bitter Winter comes on, huge storms of Snow fall, all action intercepted, and both Armies Disbanded.

Next Spring the Vice-Roy passeth again over into *France*; the Queen, the Earls of *Aran*, *Lennox*, *Craford* and some others, take the opportunity of his absence, and accompany the young King, not yet come to Age, to *Holyrude* House, where a Council of the Peers being called, by their advice the King takes the Government upon him, the Nobility swear Fealty to him, and all Officers of State receive new Commissions from him.

1525.



The Earl of *Angus* hearing of this Mutation, returneth from *France*; *Lennox* and *Arguile*, neglected in the publick Administration, receive him with much joy, in hope of some Mutation of Affairs: to the Queen (now estranged from him in her affection) his return is no way pleasing; much less to *Hammliton*; (who then ruled all) his deadly enemy the Devil of Division begins now to Reign: the Queen and *Hammliton* abide at *Edenburgh* Castle as a place of greatest Safety: the Discontented Faction assembleth at *Glasgow*, advanceth towards *Edenburgh*, the Castle unprovided of all things needful for a Siege, yieldeth it self; they within have liberty to march whither they please, the King only reserved and committed to the tuition of *Angus*, *Arguile* and *Lennox*, who were by courtie to attend him, every man his four Months, *Angus* Monopolizeth all Power into his own hands, this produceth Envy and Emulation; *Arguile* withdraweth, refusing to meddle; *Lennox* continueth at Court, but medleth not neither; both shew their dislike of *Angus* his Usurpation: A design is forthwith set on foot, by the King's own desire, to Rescue him out of the hands of the *Dowglasses*: The *Scots* a powerful Family in the South, attempt it; to that end they appear at *Mcrose* with some Forces, a bitter Conflict falls out between them and *Dowglas*; the King himself and *Lennox* Spectators of the Fight, *Dowglas* had the Day, the chief and most of the *Scots* killed on the place, July 20. 1526.

*Dowglas*



*Dowglas* perceiving now plainly that *Lennox* was his enemy, by his indifferency in this Conflict, thought it high time to reconcile himself to the *Hammitons*; the Agreement is made, *Hammiton* shares with him in the Government; *Lennox* repaireth to *Sterlin*, sends to divers of the Nobility, consulteth with them touching the Rescue of the King; all resolve, and unanimously Assistance is promised accordingly against a day appointed, before the day comes *Lennox* thought it necessary, if possible, to prevent the Conjunction of *Dowglas* and *Hammiton*; to that end he advanceth to *Linlishquo*, where the *Hammitons* were drawn together; *Dowglas* then at *Edenburgh*, marcheth with all possible expedition, bringing along with him to countenance his affairs, the person of the King, who all along retardeth the journey, accounting *Lennox* more his Friend than those with him, pretending indisposition of Body, ever and anon dismounteth, making shew to pay some necessary office to Nature; *Dowglas* frets, and in vain, spending many entreaties for expedition; at length *George Dowglas*, Brother to the Earl, is so peremptory with him, as in most Rebellious terms to tell him, *That rather than their Enemies should get possession of his Person, they would rend him in pieces, and divide him in halves between them*: This Traiterous word made an indelible impression on the heart of the King, though at present silence was his best and only return: At last the Armies joyn, *Lennox* and his Party are

put to the rout, many slain, the Earl himself killed, bewailed of all; *Hammliton* and *Dowglas* both mourn for him; above all, the King is afflicted; the remnant of his Party with sorrow and grief enough submit, and are all forced to compound for their Treasons, as was pretended, in bearing Arms against the King; the Earl of *Cassils* refusing to submit, was way-laid and killed by one *Hugh Campbell*.

*Lennox* his Death divulged, maketh a very deep impression in the hearts of most men; especially his own Retainers: one of his Servants resolveth with himself to avenge his Lord's death, on the Person of the Bastard *Hammliton*, by whom *Lennox* was killed: To that end he repairs to *Edenburgh*, and on his way meeting with one of his Fellow-servants, he asked him, saying, *Didst thou see Hammliton the Bastard*, Yea said he, *I saw him; and hast thou not killed him, unthankful Wretch, who murdered our Dear Lord and Master?* said the Fellow, *Go and be hang'd, thou art not worthy to live;* and with these words he pass'd on in his way, and came streight to *Holyrude House*, where in the Pallace-Yard stood Two thousand Armed men, all Retainers to *Dowglas* and *Hammliton*; there the Fellow walks, full of Revenge, and waiting the opportunity to execute the desire of his heart, *Hammliton* unawares, comes in his way without Arms, the Fellow falls upon him in the Penthouse under the Porters-Lodge, and wounds him in six several places of his Body; the Armed men are  
all

all presently in confusion, and well nigh in one anothers blood: The *Hammiltons* suspecting this bold attempt to be done by the *Dowglasses* (newly only reconciled to them) to avenge some old Quarrels: The Fellow is at last apprehended (who had opportunity fair enough, had he attempted it, to escape with his Sword in his hand, still smoaking with *Hammilton's* blood; he is forthwith hurried to *Tolbuth*, boldly professing that what he did, was to revenge the death of his Dear Lord, declaring with inexpressible confidence, that he was sorry for nothing, but that he was disappointed of his design so bravely begun by him; he is put to Torture for the discovery of such as animated him to that bold attempt; his Flesh is seared with burning Irons, which he endured with such courage and resolution, as no man could spy either by his words or by his countenance, or otherwise, any the least sense of pain in him; at last his Right Hand was cut off, which he endured without shrinking, calling out to such as stood by, *That unhappy Hand well deserved this punishment, which executed not the design of a Resolute mind.*

1528.

The *Dowglasses* think themselves now secure enough, no man daring to oppose them in any thing: But in the midst of their security, the King makes an escape from *Faulkland* to *Sterlin*, there the Nobility from most parts of the Kingdom fly to him, by whose advice his Majesty issueth out an Edict inhibiting

1530.

the *Dowglasses* any further meddling in publick Affairs, discharging them or any of their retainers under pain of Death, to come within Twelve Miles of the Court; this Edict being served on the Earl in his Journey towards *Sterlin*, he retreats to *Edenburgh*, and prepareth Forces for his defence.

A Proclamation issueth from the King to call a Parliament to Assemble *November* the 3<sup>d</sup>. in the interim his Army advanceth towards the City, *Dowglas* withdraws: The King peaceably entreth the City: Terms of Peace are offered to the *Dowlasses*, (viz.) *That the Earl himself should confine himself on the North of Tay, his Brother George and his Uncle Archibald to the Castle of Edinburgh*: The Conditions are refused; they are Summoned to appear before the Parliament, they disobey; the Earl himself, his Brother *George*, his Uncle *Archibald*, and his dear Friend *Alexander Drummond of Carnock*, all by sentence of Parliament Bannished: all People charged under pain of Treason not to relieve them; the *Dowlasses* break out into open Violence; *Arguile* is sent to reduce them to order, whose advance they prevented by flight into *England*.

The King spendeth some time with great care and charge, in suppressing the Depredations then very great on the Borders; which Expedition over, he establisheth the Court of Sessions (formerly indeed set on foot by the Vice-Roy, the Duke of *Albany*) Constituted of *Fifteen* Judges of the most learned

of the Law, impowred to hear and determine all Civil Causes: a very grave Court, continuing in great Honour and deserved Respect in that Nation to this day.

About this time King *Henry* of *England* prepareth for War against the *Scots*, irritated thereunto by the *Scotch* Exiles and Refuges in *England*; King *James* having Constituted the Earl of *Murray* his Vice-Roy, prepareth for Defence; by Mediation of the *French*, then a common Friend to both, Peace is concluded.

1535.

King *James* sends Ambassadors to *France* to treat concerning his Marriage to a Daughter of *France*: The King of *England* to prevent it, sends the Bishop of *St. Davids*, and *William Howard* Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, Ambassadors into *Scotland*, to invite King *James* to a Personal Conference with himself, whereunto he is soon persuaded by the great Promises they made of Marriage to *Mary* the King's eldest Daughter, if all other things succeeded well in the Treaty: The *Scotch* Council, especially the Clergy, fearing Innovations in Religion then set on foot by King *Henry*, are much troubled that his Majesty had consented to this Conference; they ply him with continual surmises of Ruine to Himself, to the State, to Religion, should this Conference hold; the King is over-ruled and observeth not the day appointed, but forthwith saileth into *France*, and is immediately espoused to *Magdalen*, Daughter to



1537. *Francis King of France*, the Marriage solemnized on *New-years Day*, 1537, and both arrive in *Scotland* about the end of *May* following; within six Weeks after the young Queen Dyeth, to the inexpressible grief of all; the Nobles put on Mourning Apparel; not before that time in use in that Kingdom.

Immediately after *David Bejon Cardinal*, and *Robert Maxwell*, are sent to *France* to demand *Mary* of the Family of the *Guise*, Widow of the late Duke of *Longoville*, in Marriage to King *James*; the Marriage is agreed to; the Year following she arriveth in *Scotland*, and the Marriage solemnized at *St. Andrews*, 1538.

1538. This Year exemplary Justice was done upon divers Persons of Quality, conspiring the Death of the King; some the Year following were Burnt, some Banished for embracing the Protestant Doctrine Preached in *Germany* by *Luther* and others.

*James Hamilton* the Bastard accused of High-Treason, is sentenced to Death, his Head and Quarters affixed to publick places in *Edenburgh*: the King soon after thought in his Dream, that *Hamilton* cut off first his right and then his left Arm, threatening withal to appear again to take his own Life; the King awaking, is very much troubled with thoughts of this Dream, and revolving with himself what might be the meaning of it, a Messenger comes to him with the sad News of the Death of both his Sons at the same time, the

the one at *Sterlin*, the other at *St. Andrews*.

King *Henry* of *England* sendeth the second time to invite King *James* to a Conference at *York*; the *Scotch* Clergy still oppose it, and the Conference again refused: King *Henry* in great Indignation against his Nephew for refusal of Conference with him, resolveth to talk with him in harder Terms, and to that end he raiseth an Army and sendeth it into *Scotland*, and under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*. The *Scottish* Ambassadors in vain, intreating a Cessation, King *James* prepares a considerable Army for defence; the *English* enter into *Scotland*, and after some mischief done, at the approach of the *Scotch* Army, they retreat; the Lord *Gordon* marcheth before the main body with Ten thousand Men, doing much hurt and annoyance to the Rear of the *English* Army. King *James* with all earnestness presseth an Engagement with the *English*, the Nobility peremptorily oppose him in it; the King enraged, upbraided them with Cowardile unworthy to be owned as Sons of their Noble Ancestors, vowing that though they should all desert him, himself and his own Family alone should give the Enemy Battel: The Lord *Maxwell*, to pacify the King, tendereth his Service to lead into *Cumberland* Ten thousand Men, thereby to divert the Enemy: The King accepteth his Service, but being enraged against the whole Nobility, he resolves that none of them should have the Honour of any thing done in

1540.

1541.

in that Expedition, and for the cause, giveth a Dormant Commission to *Oliver Sinclair*, Brother to the Lord *Roslin*. Having entred *Cumberland*, and now in view of Five hundred English Horse, *Sinclare* produceth his Commission, it is read at the head of the Army; *Maxwell* is thereby intraged, the whole Army falleth in Mutiny, and in such a confusion that they become a Prey to the Five hundred English Horse; divers of the Nobility and the new General *Sinclare* are sent Prisoners to the Tower of London: this dishonourable Disaster, which hapned at *Solway*, strikes the Valorous King with such grief and sorrow that he never after joyed, but soon after departed this Life, having first made Peace with King *Henry*, at whose request he recalled *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*.

Thus dyed King *James* the Fifth, a Prince of singular Endowments, most patient of Cold, Hunger, and Travel, sometimes setting on Horseback Twenty Four hours, when the necessity of his affairs required it; a great Justiciary, and a person of singular Foresight and Wisdom.

THE

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O F  
QUEEN MARY.

**Q**ueen Mary was the only Child *James* the Fifth, her Father, left to Inherit the Crown, born to him not above eight days before his death. *James Hamilton* Earl of *Aran* is therefore chosen Vice-Roy, to whom King *Henry* of England sent his Ambassador, *Sir Radolph Sadler*, to procure Peace between the two Kingdoms, and to demand *Mary* in Marriage to his Son, by the influence of the late Prisoners in *England*, especially the Exiled *Dowglasses* (whom King *Henry* had wrought much to his Service by his Royal Favours) whose Counsels were now very prevalent in the management of publick affairs; both were assented, the Contract

1541.

1542.

tract of Marriage Signed; and Pledges promised for better performance of all Conditions agreed upon, notwithstanding of the Opposition of the Queen and Cardinal, who fearing the Subversion of Popery (still established in that Kingdom) by this agreement, endeavour what they can to cross all: Tumults are stirred against the *English* Ambassador, and daily Affronts put upon his Attendants, in the Streets; the Ambassador complaineth, and demandeth the Pledges promised for confirmation of the Agreement lately made; exemplary Justice is executed upon the chief movers in the Tumults in answer to this Complaint; but the Cardinal, by the influence of his power, had so obstructed the matter of his demand, that not one of the Nobility would yield up himself voluntarily a Pledge to the *English*, and to such a business none could be compelled.

1542. King *Henry* hereby provoked, seiseth all the *Scottish* Ships in the *English* Havens and Harbours, and proclaimeth War against the *Scots*, in the mean while the Queen Mother sendeth to *France*, to entreat the *French* King to send home *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, to strengthen her against the *English* Faction, otherwise Religion and the *French* League were like to come to nothing. *Lennox* is sent home, and forthwith levieth Four Thousand men, and with this strong guard cometh to the Queen; the Vice-Roy inferior in Power, sends Commissions to treat for Peace,



Peace; by agreement the young Queen is committed to the Education of Four Indifferent Noble Men ingaged in neither Faction (*viz.*) the Lords *Graham, Areskin, Lindsay, and Levison*; and accordingly they take charge of her at *Sterlin*, where all the Nobility do Homage to her: The Vice-Roy joyneth himself wholly to the Cardinal, which Conjunction so irrageth *Lennox*, that immediately he flyeth to Arms, raiseth an Army, marcheth to *Leith*, and provoketh the Cardinal to Fight; the Cardinal keeps himself close in *Edenburgh* Castle. *Lennox* through want of Provisions is forced to withdraw, and to put himself in a posture of Defence in and about *Glasgow*.

King *Henry* hearing of these Stirs, sends into *Scotland* to demand the custody of the young Queen until she came to years fit for Marriage.

The *French* Faction now prevailing, his Demands are refused: An Army is therefore forthwith sent into *Scotland*, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Hereford*, and a great Navy of Two hundred Sail, under the Command of Viscount *Lisle* as Admiral. The *English* enter the City of *Edenburgh* without resistance, first they Pillage and then they Fire it, and divers other Towns and Villages about it; the like fate besel the Town of *Leith*, and forthwith they return to *England*, laden with Spoil.

The Queen Mother writeth to the *French King*, and layeth all these mischiefs at *Lennox* his door, as the only enemy of their Peace and Union, by reason of his private Feud against the Vice-Roy for the death of his Father. At her Request *Lennox* is recalled to *France*, but finding the *French King* provoked against him, he still keeps to his posture of Defence: The Vice-Roy marcheth against him, and after some small bickerings, *Lennox* retireth into *England*, and is honourably entertained by King *Henry*, to whom he tenders his Service in opposition to the *French Faction* then prevailing in *Scotland*, of which his Majesty so well accepted, that he gave to him in Marriage his Neice, the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, Daughter to *Margaret* his own Sister (and Wife to *James the Fourth*) by her second Husband the Earl of *Angus*. *Lennox* and his Friends most of them have their Estates confiscate. The *English* re-enter *Scotland*, Fire *Jeeburgh* and *Kelfo*, waste most of the Countrey thereabout, and leaving a Garrison at *Coldingham*, they return home with their Booty.

The Vice-Roy in the depth of Winter layeth Siege to *Coldingham*, and all on the sudden retireth to *Dunbar*, leaving his Army, in which he durst not confide, at the Siege: by this unexpected desertion, the Army falls into Confusion; by the wisdom and valour of the Earl of *Angus*, the Cannon and all other things belonging to the Army, are safely brought off and carried to *Dunbar*.

Next

Next Spring *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, is sent down with an Army to joyn with that on the Borders, with a design to reduce all on this side forth to the Obedience of the *English*: The Vice-Roy by the incouragement of *Angus*, marcheth toward the Borders, and at *An-cram*, obtaineth a Victory over the *English*; which Disaster much intraging the *English King*, the Vice-Roy sends to *France* to crave assistance, Three thousand Foot and Five hundred Horse are granted, and sent under the Command of *Sir James Montgomery*, by whose assistance the Vice-Roy marcheth in a Plundering Expedition within the *English Borders*, and soon after Disbandeth his Army; next Winter *Montgomery* returneth to *France*.

And now some Stirs begin by such as endeavoured some Mutations and Reformation of Religion. *George Wisheart* having fallen away from Popery and embracing the Reformation begun, in *Germany* is apprehended, and at a Council of Bishops and some others, held at *St. Andrews*, is Condemned as guilty of Heresie: The Cardinal sendeth to the Vice-Roy to desire the Law to be executed against him, who wisheth the Cardinal not to be too hasty, but to forbear a little, which distasted the Cardinal not a little; at whose command forthwith Execution is done upon him at *Saint Andrews*, the Cardinal beholding the Tragedy from his Windows, not without some Pomp; which *Wisheart* perceiving, said to the Governour of the Castle standing by him,

1545.

1546.

him, *He who now insulteth over me, shall in few days be tumbled over the same Window, with more disgrace than now he setteth with state*: At the uttering of which words he is strangled to death, and his Body burnt to ashes. This fact of the Cardinal and the manner of his proceeding without the Authority of the Vice-Roy, gave distast to many; at last his Death is contrived and perpetrated by *Norman Lisle*, Son to the Earl of *Rothuse*, whose discontent arose from the refusal of a private grant, which the Cardinal conceived not fit to be yielded to him: *Lisle* calls some sixteen Conforts together, to whom he discovered his intent, craving their concurrence, all was agreed unto, the time and manner is appointed for execution; over Night, they come privately to *St. Andrews*, and lodge severally in divers Inns to render themselves the less suspected: next Day morning by break of day, two of the Conspirators come to the Castle, and being known Men, the Porter openeth to them, they enter, and the rest follow streight; the Porter is laid fast, and all the Cardinal's Servants secured, threatning them with Death if once they whispered: which done, they repair to the Cardinal his Chamber, they knock; the Cardinal admiring what this should mean, that Strangers, and none of his Servants, should at such a season come to his Chamber-door, refuseth to open; *Norman Lisle* well known to him and a man much favoured by him, protested they minded him  
no



no hurt at all, but that they had a matter of great Importance to Communicate to him, the dispatch of which required that their unseasonable coming to his Chamber; the Cardinal trusting their Protestations, openeth his Door, they enter, fall forthwith upon him, and barbarously Murther him: By this time News are carried into the City of the Surprisal of the Castle: The Cardinal his Friends and Retainers immediately Arm, beset the Castle, threatening the death of all within if the Cardinal were not preserved alive: the Murtherers told them it was too late, and therewith cast his dead Body, barbarously cut, over the same Window from whence he beheld the Tragedy of the late mentioned Martyr *George Wisheart*, which added not a little to the high Opinion the People had of *Wisheart*, remembring the last words he spake concerning the Cardinal.

This Impious Murther highly provok'd the Court; the Vice-Roy Summoneth the Murtherers to appear before him, they refuse, and are declared Traitors: but they having seised the Cardinal his Treasure, and having in their power the Vice-Roy his Son, who then remained with the Cardinal, and confiding in the strength of the Castle, stand upon their guard: The Vice-Roy layeth Siege to the Castle, and after some four Months Siege in vain, he withdraws his Force, and returneth to *Edenburgh* to be present at Parliament then ready to Assemble: and  
I now



now behold the Judgment of God upon those Barbarous Murtherers, they being formerly Men in all outward deportment, not only Civil, but Religious, and reputed Men of tender Consciences, give themselves now over to all manner of wickedness, Murthers, profane Swearing, drinking to Excess, and Whoring, were things of course with them, their wickedness came to this height: The Vice-Roy, too slow in avenging so much Wickedness, layeth again Siege to the Castle, assisted with some *French* Forces, after much Battery, they are content to deliver themselves to the *French* Admiral, Monsieur *Strozzius*; upon Quarter for Life, they are set on the *French* Shoar, and disperse themselves; all of them living ever after in great Misery, are in their several turns pursued by the wrath of God, to violent and untimely Ends.

About this time the Duke of *Sommerfet* (now after the Death of King *Henry*) the Lord Protector of *England* Invadeth *Scotland* with a powerful Army, the Vice-Roy all on the sudden rolleth together Thirty thousand Horse and Foot, to whom the *English* Protector sendeth a very fair Letter, requiring their young Queen may be assured in Marriage to the young King of *England*, according to former Agreement, and for their better Security, he demands the said Princess may be Educated not in any Foreign Country, but at home, until she come to such years as might

might inable her to make her own Choice: Further desiring, that in the interim there might be Peace between the two Nations, and no treaty of Marriage admitted with any other Prince: All which being granted, the Protector promiseth, not only to withdraw his Army, but likewise, to make reasonable satisfaction for all the hurt he had done; to all which Proposals the *Scottish* Vice-Roy returns no Answer: The two Armies appearing in view one of another, the Earl of *Huntley* sendeth an Herald to the Protector, offering Combat, either single, or Ten to Ten; or Twenty to Twenty, for the determination of the Quarrel, and for avoiding the effusion of Christian Blood: the Protector enraged, by the sight of his last Letter, slighteth the Challenge: both Armies Engage in *Pinkey* Field nigh *Musselbraugh*; in a bitter Conflict the Victory at first on-set inclineth to the *Scots*, many *English* slain, their Horse put to Rout, the *Scots* pursue; and having spent their Shot, return to the main of their Army in some Confusion; the Main observing in what Disorder that strong Party returned, supposed the *English* to be on their Rear; all on the sudden, possessed with a Panick fear, they cast down their Arms, and run; the *English* Rally, and pursue with no small Execution: divers, both of the Gentry and Clergy, are killed; many Prisoners of all sorts; one of the *Scottish* Lords a Prisoner, being demanded how he liked the Marriage

1547.

of the *Scotch* Queen to the *English* King; I always liked the Marriage, saith he, but upon my Faith, I fancy not the Wooing, by Fire and Sword. After this Victory which happened to the *English*, April 10. 1547, *Louthian* is most burnt and wasted by them, the Islands of *Inchkeeth* and *Inchcolme*, and the Castle of *Brochty*, *Fast Castle*, *Hume Castle*, *Lauder* and *Roxbrough*, all Garrisoned by the *English*, the rest of the Army returneth into *England*.

1550.

The *Scottish* Nobility Assemble at *Sterlin*, to consult what to do in such an Exigent as then the Affairs of that Nation stood in: the young Queen is safely conveyed into *France*; Ambassadors are likewise dispatch'd thither to crave Assistance according to their League: Six thousand Men are granted, and arrive at *Leith*, under the Command of *Monfieur Dessins*; by whose assistance the Vice-Roy layeth Siege to *Hadington*, which proving too tedious a business, *Dessins* marcheth into *Tividale*, and from thence maketh divers Incurfions into *England*. *Dessins* is called home, and *Monfieur Termins* is sent over to Command the *French*: They again prepare to lay Siege to *Hadington*, which the *English* understanding their Stores being spent, they Fire the Town, and withdraw; some other of their Garrisons are likewise deserted, and some surpris'd by the *Scots*, and all on the sudden the *English* are wholly voided out of *Scotland*, and in *May* following, the *French* return into *France*.

Next

Next Year, 1552, The Queen Mother Sail- 1552.  
eth into *France*, whither likewise the Vice-Roy  
sent the Lord *Carnegi* Ambassador, to render  
thanks for their Seasonable Assistance: He is  
honourably received and entertained: The  
*French* King earnestly desires that the Vice-  
Roy would deliver up his Government in-  
to the hands of the Queen Mother: The  
Ambassador ingageth himself to imploy all  
his interest that his Majesty's desire may be  
satisfied; and forthwith returneth, accompa-  
nied with the Bishop of *Ross*, then Legier in  
*France*: Both move the Vice-Roy to satisfie  
the desire of the *French* King; the Vice-Roy,  
with much ado, yields his assent, he being  
first discharged in Parliament of all Accompts  
which ought to be made by him as Vice-  
Roy, which accordingly was done, and no  
other thing required of him, save that he  
should promise upon Oath to deliver what-  
ever he had in present possession belonging  
to the late King.

The Queen Mother returneth into *Scot-*  
*land*, accompanied with one Monsieur de Oy-  
sell, appointed to assist her in Council, and  
in a Parliament held at *Edenburgh*, the  
Vice-Roy delivereth up the Regalia into the  
hands of Monsieur d' Oysell, who received  
them in the Name of the Queen, and deli-  
vered them to her by consent of Parliament,  
by the Title of Queen Regent, Anno 1555. 1555.  
These things exceedingly please the *French*  
King: The Vice-Roy is created Duke of



*Chastellbe-Roy*, and Twelve thousand Livres given him in a Yearly Pension, and he declared in the *Scotch* Parliament, Heir to the Crown, should the young Queen dye without Issue: The Queen Regent gives the first Essay of her Government, against the stubborn *Red-Shankes*, amongst whom were many Notorious Robbers, all reduced into Obedience by the Queen Regent, with little noise, and admired success.

After this *Higbland* Expedition, a design was set on foot by the *French* Council about the Queen Regent, to conduce a certain number of Mercenary Souldiers, as a standing Army, for the Defence of the Kingdom, for maintenance whereof, a certain Monthly Rate was to be settled on all the Real and Personal Estates, proportionably through the whole Kingdom; This design is deeply Resented by the whole Nobility and Gentry: Two are sent, the Lords, *Caldar* and *Weems*, to declare their dislike of this design, and to represent to the Queen Regent, that this design, as it was without Precedent in that Kingdom, so it could not be endured, being not only Dishonourable to the whole Nobility, whose Ancestors, from whose worth they were not yet degenerated, have been a sufficient Guard against the strongest Invasions, and most desperate Insurrections that ever were, but likewise most Dangerous to the whole Nation, in regard that the boundless Lusts of such men, so impow-  
red,



red, were like enough to break out into such Exorbitances as might confound all, and into such Insolences, as their very Masters and Maintainers might sooner mourn for, than mend; and that it could not in reason be supposed that Men of mean or no fortunes should be more tender of the welfare of the Kingdom, than such who by their Estates and Fortunes were interess'd in the Common good; and that it could not be expected, that such Fellows, who had nothing to lose, could be so faithful and valiant in defence of other Mens Estates, as they whose large Fortunes and Families do engage them to assert the Liberty and Welfare of the Nation; and that it could not be apprehended that such Mercenary Men would be so tame, as willingly to lay down their Arms, when at once they must therewith relinquish their living at ease in the Cream of other Mens Estates, and return to their former painful and Mechanick Occupations: This Remonstrance was so lively represented to her Majesty, that she utterly disclaimed and cried out upon the Design, declaring the deep sense she had of all those Mischiefs which were so discreetly and timely represented to her.

Soon after the young Queen Mary growing on towards years fit for Marriage, being of singular Beauty, and adorned with such rare and admirable Parts both for Vertue and Wisdom: the French King, Henry the Second (at  
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1558.

whose Court, whither she was conveyed soon after the Battel at *Musleburgh*, she had such Royal Education as well became her Birth) very earnestly desired to Marry her to his Eldest Son, the *Dauphine* of *France*; to which purpose he writeth to the Queen Regent, desiring that the *Scotch* Nobility might declare their Assent to this so much desired Marriage, and forthwith to send over certain Commissioners to be present at the Nuptials: A Parliament is called at *Edenburgh*, the *French* King's Letters are read; three of the Nobility, the Earls of *Cassils*, *Rothus*, and *Cumberland*; three of the Clergy, the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishop of *Orkney*, the Pryor of *St. Andrews*; two of the Commons, the Provost of *Edenburgh*, and the Provost of *Montross* are sent; they safely arrive and are honourably entertained at the *French* Court, the Marriage solemnized April 24. 1558. in great State in the Church of *Nostra Dama* in *Paris*: the *Scotch* Commissioners, the chief days of the Solemnity being past, prepare to return to their own Countrey, abundantly satisfied, not so much by beholding the incredible Magnificence of the *French* Entertainment, as by observing the admired deportment of their most Gracious and Illustrious Queen. Before their departure, an unhappy dash of Discontent was given; the Chancellor of *France* is sent to them, to move, That the Crown of *Scotland* may be sent over into *France* for Coronation of the *Dauphine*; after the

the custom and manner of the Kings of Scotland. The Commissioners refuse the motion, and soon after take their Leave of the Court, and return home; In their return, the Earl of Cassils, the Earl of Rothbur, the Bishop of Orkney, and the Lord Cumberland, depart this Life.

And now began the great Stirs touching Reformation of Religion, which we shall briefly touch: Certain Lords (assisted by some Knights and Gentlemen) who afterwards were termed the Lords of the Congregation, knowing the Heart-burnings of the People, occasioned by the Death of George Wisheart and Walter Mill, both lately Burnt for Religion; send privately their Scrolls all the Kingdom over, to receive the Subscriptions of all who favoured the Reformation of Religion; which being done, Propositions are sent to the Queen Regent by the hands of Sir James Sandelands, Lord Caulder (viz.) That all Popish Priests be forthwith removed, and Godly Ministers chosen by the People, established in their places; and that all publick Prayers may be said in the Vulgar Tongue. The Popish Bishops, though much enraged, yet make a motion and a fait offer, to refer all to publick Dispute; the Lords of the Congregation refuse all Dispute, whilst the Popish Bishops are their Judges: The Bishops make a second Tender; That if the Mass, Invocation of Saints, Prayers for the Dead, were continued in due esteem, together with the belief of Purgatory; that then it should be lawful for them to use the Scottish Tongue in their publick Prayers

*Prayers and Ministration of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper*: This is likewise rejected by the Lords of the Congregation, who peremptorily adhere to their first Proposals, requiring the Queen Regent to hearken thereunto: Her Majesty yields to them, *That it shall be lawful for them to use their Vulgar Tongue in their publick Prayers, provided all other Rights be duly observed, and none of their Predobers appear in the Pulpits of Edinburgh.* They of the Congregation finding themselves discountenanced, and unsatisfied; send *John Ariskju of Dunne*, a well learned Man, to Solicit the Parliament in their behalf, but with no success.

1554. In May following, another Parliament is called at *Stirling*; thither Commissioners are sent, (viz.) *Alexander Cuninghame*, Earl of *Glen-carne*, and *Sir Hugh Campbell* Provost of *Aire*, to pacifie the Queen Regent, provok'd by some Popular Tumults, and to pray that nothing might be denied through the occasion of the said Tumults, which was formerly granted to them: The Queen Regent in much wrath, threatmeth the Banishment of their Ministers, as main Incendiaries. The Commissioners urge the remembrance and performance of her Promises, which she refusing; they peremptory, threaten and protest to renounce all Obedience to her, beseeching her in time to consider what Mischiefs were like to ensue thereupon.



In the interim the Ministers of the Congregation, get into the Pulpits at St. John's Town: A Messenger is dispatched to Patrick Ruthven Provost of the place, to Suppress them, and the Stirs made by them; the Provost refuseth the Service: A Messenger is likewise sent to Dundee to demand the Person of Paul Messan, a Popular Preacher, who privately withdraweth, and escapeth: A General Proclamation is likewise made, requiring the Celebration of *Easter* after the accustomed manner: The whole Ministers of the Congregation, disobey, who are therefore cited to *Sterlin*, May the 10th. to answer their Contempt, for countenancing of whom a great Confluence rush thither from all parts of the Kingdom. The Queen Regent calls to her *Areskin* of *Dunne*, a Popular Man, and Requests him to persuade the Multitude to return peaceably to their several homes, assuring him that nothing should be done against any of their Sect: by his means some return, more stay; whereby the Queen is highly provoked: such of the Ministers as were Summoned, and appeared not, are Banished to no purpose. *John Knox* Preacheth at St. Johnstone, and inflameth all; the Multitude forthwith brake down the Altar and all the Images in the Church, do violence to the Person of the Priest then attending to say Mass; immediately after they rush into the Monasteries of the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*; and by assistance of the Souldiery then and there in Arms,

1556.



Arms, they spoil and plunder, and in two days lay all those stately Buildings level to the ground; at *Comper of Fyfe*, they do the very like.

The Queen Regent, being informed of all these detestable Outrages, sendeth to the Earls of *Arguile*, *Hamilton* and *Athol*, to attend her with all their Retainers, which they forthwith did, and advance to *St. Johnston*, May the 18. the Queen perceiving their Forces both greater and more resolute to Fight than her own, dispatcheth Commissioners, (*viz.*) the Earl of *Arguile* and *James Stuart*, Bastard Son to the late King, (who remained with the Regent on purpose to discover all her Counsels and Resolutions to that Adverse Faction) to the Lords of the Congregation to treat with them for Accommodation: *Alexander Cunningham*, and *John Areskin*, above-named, are appointed by the Lords to treat with them: Articles are agreed upon that the Forces on both sides should be Disbanded: The Queen, and the Nobility with her, enter the Town for their refreshment, during their pleasure, without Damage to be done by any, the French not to approach within Three Miles of the Town: all other matters of Difference referr'd to the next Parliament. The Armies accordingly dismissed, the Queen Regent, and those of the Nobility, with her, are received into the Town: *Arguile*, with *James Stuart*, abovenamed, withdraw to *St. Andrews*: The Queen Regent, jealous

1558.

jealous of them, and seeing no hopes of a lasting Peace, setteth new Magistrates; and having restored the Mass, leaves a Garrison at *St. Johnston's*, and returns to *Sterlin*, from thence sends threatening Letters to *Arguile* and *James Stuart*, to return to her, but all in vain, they now both publickly joyn (with whom they were before in private ingaged) to the Lords of the Congregation: New Forces are levied on both sides, those of the Congregation assemble in great numbers, Vowing the Destruction of the Adverse Party, enter *St. Andrews* (having Defaced the Church at *Carell*, plunder, spoil and level to the ground the two Monasteries of the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, the Arch-Bishop scarce escaping to *Faulkland*, where the Queen Regents Army lay) but the Queen understanding their approach, sendeth from *Faulkland*, where her self lay, and requireth *Hamilton Duke of Castaubroy*, the Commander in chief, to send Commission to Treat: Three of the most Popular Nobility are sent, yet could not prevail for any terms of Peace, all that would be granted, was the agreement to a Truce for eight Days, *Provided that the Queens Army remove into Louthian, whilst another Treaty may be had at St. Andrews*; which accordingly her Army did: and immediately *Hamilton* and *James Stuart* advance to *St. Johnston*, lay Siege to the Town, which in few days yielded to them: They proceed to *Scone*, which they consume with Fire; and from

from thence to *Sterlin*, where all the Religious houses are pillaged and laid level to the ground, then advancing to *Lithgow*, the like is done there: then entering *Edenburgh*, they find business enough there to stay them for some days to demolish Religious houses, to purge the Churches from Images and beautiful Sculptures, and to establish Zealous Preachers of the Reformation in them. The Queen having retreated to *Dunbar*, returned towards *Edenburgh*: when the Armies were ready to engage, by the Negotiation of the Duke of *Casteaulroy*, and the Earl of *Morton*, a Cessation of Arms was at last agreed on from *July* the 24th. to *January* the 10th. next following.

In the mean time there was an universal toleration of Religion, and no Man compelled to the use of any Rites or Ceremonies therein; there was no Garrison to be placed at *Edenburgh*; the Priests were peaceably to enjoy the Tithes of the Church for that Year; no more Religious Houses were to be demolished or alienated: the Pallace-Royal at *Holyriddle* House, with all there belonging to the Crown, were to be restored to the Regent: This Truce was firmly enough observed on both sides. But about this time *Henry* the Second of *France*, being forewarn'd of the Danger of that Day, was strangely killed in a Tilt, by the Earl of *Montgomery* the now *French* King; and the Queen of *Scots* advertised of the design of *James*

*Stuart*;

Stuart, Prior of *St. Andrews*, to aspire to the Crown; writ Letters to him, 'adjoining him 'not only by common Duty, but likewise 'by the special Favours received, to return 'to his Obedience by deserting the Faction, 'in which he had engaged himself: where- unto *James Stuart* returned his Protestations 'of all due respects to the King and Queen; but withal, peremptorily declaring, 'to ad- here to those of the Congregation in de- spite of all Opposition. This Answer is high- ly resented, and a Garison of *French* is forth- with sent into *Leith*; the Earl of *Aran*, Son to *Hamilton*, privately withdraweth from the *French* Court and comes into *Scotland*, where he joyns with those of the Congregation, with whom he likewise persuades his Father, the Duke, forthwith to joyn, and they im- mediately attempt the Besiege of *Leith*, which the *French* reinforce with Two Thousand Men, sent over under *Monsieur de la Broche*, with whom came the Bishop of *Ameaux* and three Doctors of *Sorbon*, to dispute, if Occa- sion offered, the Points of Religion then in controversie. *De la Broche*, in capacity of an Ambassador, designed a Conference with the Lords of the Congregation, which they refused, requiring the return of the *French* into *France*, and the dismantling of *Leith*, otherwise no Treaty could be admitted.

1559.

The



The Queen Regent sendeth *Forman*, the King at Arms, to them, 'adjoining them  
'to return to their former Obedience to  
'their King and Queen, and to the known  
'Laws of the Land, assuring them, that if  
'they will promise to Disband their Army  
'then at *Edenburgh*, her Forces at *Leith* (who  
'had never been sent over, but that their re-  
'peated Insurrections necessitated their Ma-  
'jesties to do it) should soon be returned,  
'notwithstanding the great Contempt offered  
'to the *French* Ambassadors, to whom they  
'would not so much as vouchsafe a Con-  
'ference, Protesting withal, that nothing  
'should be wanting in her, to condescend to  
'any thing, not inconsistent with Piety to-  
'wards God, and Loyalty towards their Ma-  
'jesties: In fine, She requires the Duke, his  
'Son, and all others of the Nobility and  
'Gentry, forthwith to withdraw from all  
'such as were resolved still to disturb the  
'Peace, under the pain of High-Treason.  
The Lords receiving this Message, are en-  
raged, and in answered thereunto, 'return  
'her a Suspension from her Government,  
'and in the King and Queens Name, re-  
'quire her to forbear all exercise of Power  
'under the pretence of any Title of Regent;  
'assuring her that against all Hazards they  
'resolved to regain the Town of *Leith* out  
'of the hands of the *French*, and therefore  
'out of the respect they had to her as their  
'Queens Mother, they requested her to with-  
'draw



draw out of the Town during the time of the Siege; the like request they sent to the French Ambassadors and all their Souldiers; out of the respect they bare to the French; the day following they send their Commands, requiring all Scotch Men, then in Leith, to forsake the Town; then the Besiege, or rather Blocking up of the Town began; some Skirmishes there were in which the Besiegers had still the worst of it, and in all Attempts were repulsed with loss; and what added to their Calamity, they begin to be jealous one of another; the common Souldiers began to Mutiny for want of Pay, whereupon they intended to mint their Plate, but wanted Tools to do it: in their streights they address to the English, to whom John Cockburne is dispatched to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, Governors of Barwick and the places adjacent, to supply their present necessity with relief: some Money is granted; but Cockburne in his return is surprised by the Earl of Bothwell, and sent Prisoner to the Queen. The Besieged frequently make their Sallies out of the Town to the great prejudice of the Besiegers, in so much, that at last they are forced to retire to Sterling, where a Council was called to consider what was to be done in this Exigency: John Knox Preached before the Council, and persuading to a further action, and a constant prosecution of the work begun, he assures them of Success: The result of the

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Meeting

Meeting was, to send a Message to Queen Elizabeth, and crave her Assistance: William Maitelaine is dispatched, and finds Friendly entertainment in the English Court: He solicites her Majesty's aid in the common cause of Religion and Liberty: Many of the Queen's Council dislike the Proposal, and declare, 'That help in this cause of Subjects against Sovereign Authority, would be a President of most pernicious and dangerous consequence; others of her Council think and speak more favourably of it: At length the Queen's Zeal for Religion, and Enmity against the French, prevail with her, and hopes of Assistance is given; at *Barnwick* Commissioners meet to sign Articles of Agreement, which was, 'That in case any Foreigner should Invade either Kingdoms, mutual assistance is promised the Queen to pay the English Auxiliaries in Scotland, and the Scottish Auxiliaries in England; and whatever Spoils were taken from the Enemy, to be converted to the Queen's use; the Scots to receive and exercise the same Religion professed and used in the Church of England; and to send Pledges into England, to remain there as Hostages during the Marriage of the French King and the Scots Queen, and one Year after.

All Sealed and Ratified at *Barnwick*, the 27th. of February 1560. Six thousand Foot and Two thousand Horse Auxiliaries, are sent

sent down under the Command of the Lord Grey, unto whom the Lords of the Congregation joyn their Army at *Hadington*, and in this conjunction they march towards *Leith*, lay Siege to it both by Sea and Land, an *English* Navy lying then in the Road, many bloody Skirmishes there were on both sides: The *French* Bishop cometh into the *Scotts* Camp, and from thence he went to the Castle at *Edenburgh*, to speak with the Queen Regent, retired thither for her safety and protection, and earnestly endeavours a Peace, but all in vain, the *Scotts* not hearkning to any, unless the *French* were all in the first place sent home, which could not be yielded to: at this time a great Fire happened in *Leith*, which put the Besieged into a great Consternation; the *English* likewise fired the two Mills belonging to the Garrison, and assault the Town by Storm, but are repulsed with loss, the *French* quickly repairing the Breaches the *English* made; who at length begin to think the work tedious and full of trouble, they send to Queen *Elizabeth*, to know her pleasure; the Duke of *Norfolk* encourageth them much by sending them new Supplies, no less than Two thousand well appointed men, Assuring them that neither Men nor Money should be wanting so long as it was in his power to supply them; promising, if need were, his own presence; in the mean time he sendeth his Tent, and adviseth them to set it up in the view

1562.

view of the Town: This gives Life to the business again, the Siege is renewed, and the Queen of England send's Sir *William Cecil*, one of the Privy Counsellors and Secretary of State, and Doctor *Wootton*, Dean of *York*, one also of the Council, to treat with the *French* in order to a Peace; a meeting is appointed in *July* following, but in the interim the Queen Regent wasted with care and grief, dyeth at *Edenburgh Castle*; a Woman of singular wildom and vertue, honoured by most of the worst of her enemies, and her Death much lamented by all; after her death Commissioners are appointed and meet, to treat of an Accommodation, which had then been agreed upon, but that the *French* insisted upon a freedom to carry home whatsoever Booty, Bag or Puggage they had got, whereof they had store by their Winters plundering of *Fife*, which would not be granted by the *Scots*; and therefore Acts of Hostility, Sallies and Onsets are made with various fortune and success: At last both Parties sufficiently weary and strained in Provisions, the Treaty is renewed, and Articles agreed on, (*viz.*) 'That neither the *French* King, nor his Queen of *Scotland*, should thenceforth, use the Arms or Titles of *England*; and all Letters Sealed with those Arms should be called in within six Months space; that the *French* transport themselves with their Booties, Bag and Baggage, within twenty days, and that the

*English*



*English* supply them with such Ships as they should want, they leaving Pledges with the *English* until the safe return of their Ships: That *Leith* be delivered up to the *Scots* and Dismantled: That the Forts built by the *French* at *Dunbar*, be demolished: That the *English* immediately after the performance of Articles, do return into *England*: That the *French* should still keep a Garrison at *Lich-Keeth*, and *Dunbar* Castle: That an Act of Oblivion first past by the Queen and the *French* King her Husband, be afterwards Confirmed by their Authority in the ensuing Parliament to be held in *August*: On these Terms Peace was Proclaimed.

Soon after the *French* King *Francis* dyeth; the Queen heavily afflicted with grief for the death of her Husband, and much perplexed by the turbulent condition of the state of *France*, resolveth to return into *Scotland*, and fearing the *English* Navy, by reason of an Offence given to Queen *Elizabeth*, by placing the *English* Arms in the *Scott* Coat, she privately goes aboard a small Vessel (which none would suspect to be Fraught with so rich a Cargo) and safely arriveth in *Scotland*; immediately before her arrival, her base Brother *James* procured a Commission from her to hold a Parliament, which was accordingly done: The *French* Ambassador moveth, That the *French* League may  
K 3 be



1561.

'be renewed, and that which the *English* lately made may be broke off; and that the Revenues of Ecclesiastick Persons may be restored to them: But the *Scots* Parliament (now wholly constituted of such as pretend to the Reformation of Religion) answered, 'That the *French* League should be continued, but that with the *English* could not be broken without the greatest Dishonour and Ingratitude in the world: The Restauration of the Revenue of the Ecclesiasticks was wholly rejected, and an Act passed for the demolishing all the Abbies and Priories in the Kingdom, which was immediately put in execution.

The sorrowful Queen being arrived, had no better remedy than Silence and Convenience, and was forced to condescend, 'That the state of Religion, as it was lately renewed and established by the Lords of the Congregation, should not by her nor her Authority, suffer any Change or Alteration; no Mass to be said publicly any where except in her Majesty's Chappel, which was all the indulgence the Lords would afford her. The Ministers (moved both by their own Zeal, and the Infligation of the Earl of *Arran*) Cry out and Thunder in their Pulpit against this Permission, and Admonish the Lords of their Duty, to reduce her, to order a submission to, and a susception of the Directory for publick Worship.

The

The Nobility, notwithstanding all these over-  
loud Clamours, encroach not upon the  
Queen's privilege, for which the Ministers  
turn the edge of their Tongues as sharp as  
Swords against them, crying out of their  
Apostacy and lukewarmness in the Cause of  
God.

William Mettelane is sent Ambassadour to  
England, to tender to Queen Elizabeth, the  
great Respects of the Scottish Queen towards  
her; and with this Message the Lords sent  
also their Letters to the Queen, humbly  
'thanking her for her late Seasonable As-  
'sistance, and requesting her to continue her  
'Princely Favour towards their Queen, and  
'a firmer establishment of Union between both  
'Kingdoms, as an Expedient thereto, they  
'propound to her Majesty, That she would  
'be pleased to pass an Act of Parliament,  
'Declaring, That in case her self should  
'dye without Issue, the Queen of Scots to be her  
'rightful Heir and lawful Successor to her  
'Crown. This last motion highly displeased  
Queen Elizabeth, saying, 'That it was most  
'unreasonable to require her to Sew her  
'Winding-Sheet with her own hands, and  
'to expole it every day to her own view.

After much Debate, it was at last agreed  
upon, 'First, That the Scots Queen  
'should forbear the English Arms and Title  
'of the Queen of England and Ireland, during

the Life of Queen Elizabeth. Secondly, That the Queen of England or her Heirs of her Body, if such should happen, should not do any thing to the prejudice of the Queen of Scotlands Title to the Crown of England. Thirdly, That a mutual Care may be had to preserve the Peace and Union of both Kingdoms.

These things happily concluded, there was a fair prospect of a flourishing State, had not the heart-burnings and emulations of the *Religionists* of Scotland fermented, and by the restless Tongues of their Preachers, discomposed all their Settlement, they who swell the least purcellions, that are disgustful to them, into Enormous Crimes, did not whisper but cry aloud that the Queens designs were all to re-induce Idolatry and Superstition, the Earl of Arran contriving withal to get the Queens Person into his Power and Disposall (the safety of her Person being the only rub in his way to the Crown,

But the Queen having timely Notice of all these Projects, appointed a good Guard to Attend her Person, which was maliciously intercepted by Adversaries as a Foundation preparatory to a Tyrannical and Arbitrary Government. The Winter following the Queen knowing what influence her Base-Brother James had in the Affections of the People, and Popular Ministers, whose grand Patron he was, and  
not

not Ignorant of his own Ambition is soon moved to Create him Earl of *Marr*, and soon after Earl of *Murray*, which highly displeased the Earl of *Huntley* the greatest Peer in the *North*, conceiving himself and his Jurisdiction thereby prejudiced, and proved the grounds of a great and lasting feud between them. Moreover *Anne Keith* the Earl *Martials* Daughter is given him in Marriage, his Greatness is not only Envied by the *Gourdon*s, but also by the *Hamilton*s, who look upon him as a dangerous Competitor to the Crown, mutual contrivances there are to Ruin each other, the *Hamilton*s as it was suggested, Conspiring the Death of *Murray*, by the Wisdom of the Queen their Feuds are kept from breaking out into open Hostility, only in the *North* a Skirmish hapned between *Huntley* and *Murray*, in which *Huntley* himself was taken Prisoner, and immediately dyed, not so much with the Wounds in his Body as in his Mind, his two Sons *John* and *Adam* are likewise taken Prisoners, and carryed to *Aberdeen*: *John* is there beheaded, whose untimely death was much bewailed by the Queen, *Adam* being very young is pardoned, the Eldest Son *George* flies to *Hamilton* his Father in Law, for Sanctuary, who begs his Pardon of the Queen, but by the prevailing Power of *Murray* ( who then over-ruled all ) young *Huntley* must be delivered up, and is sent Prisoner to *Dunbar*, from thence he is called to *Edenburgh*, and there Condemned for Treason, and returned a Prisoner to *Dunbar*.

In



In May following the Queen is Crowned in great State at *Edenburgh*, and about *Michaelmas* after by the Queens favour and approbation, *Matthew Stuart* Duke of *Lennox*, after 22. Years absence returns to *Scotland*, and hath his whole Estate restored to him to the great content of the Queen : the next Spring his Son *Henry* the Lord *Darnly* also arrives, a man of a very comely and proper Person, and behaves himself in the Court with such Civility and Prudence that the Queen with small Arguments was induced to cast her Affections upon him, and to accept him for her Husband, in order whereunto he is first Created Duke of *Rothsay*, and Earl of *Ross*, and at last (in despite of all the opposition that *Murray* could make by the instigation of Queen *Elizabeth* against it, who to prevent the Marriage sent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to Require *Lennox* and *Darnly* to return to *England* upon pain of Confiscation of their Estates) the Marriage is Solemnized at *Edenburgh* July, 28. with consent of most of the Nobility, and by the publick Herauld, *Henry* and *Mary* are Proclaimed King and Queen of *Scotland*, this Marriage uniteth *Hamilton* and *Murray*, who with *Argyle*, *Glenearne*, *Roths* and others, Combine against the present Proceeding, and upon the Summons to return to their former Obedience, they all refuse, and are Proclaimed Traitors : the King and Queen advance to *Glasgow* with an Army of 4000 men and upwards, the Rebels stay at *Paisley*, not wholly Unanimous in their Counsels, *Hamilton's* Advice tending



tending to no less than the destruction of the King and Queen, ever inculcating in the Ears of his Complices, 'That howsoever private Feuds might be otherwise compromised, yet the Enmity of Kings could not any other way be extinguished but by their Death; the rest of the Nobility knowing this to be an Hellish Design of his own, out of the Ruin of the Queen to raise himself to the Throne of Scotland, divide from *Hamilton* and retire towards *Dumfries*, and from thence they Fly into *England*.

About this time some Discontents unhappily arise between the King and the Queen, and by the occasion of the ambitious and malicious surmises of ill disposed men, the King is Enraged against *Seigneur David* a French man, the Secretary, as an Instrument of Mischief between him and the Queen, their Wicked Design to make the Breach greater between them not being discerned by the King, he (as being naturally too flexible and credulous) is wrought upon to joyn with them in the Destruction of the Secretary. On the Night appointed for that horrid work of darkness, the King took with him the Earls of *Mortan*, *Linsay* and *Ruthen*, besides five or six more Armed Men, himself first entering the Queens Chamber, and *Ruthen* following him, he finds the Secretary set at Supper with the Queen, and spying them he arose, and the Queen offering to interpose, he clasps fast hold about her waist, who not knowing the Design, cries out, but the King

1565.

King forcing *David* from his hold, pacified her assuring her That there was no hurt intended her, only the destruction of one Villain that was about her, whom he runs through with his Sword, and then they all drag his wounded Body into an outward Room, and striving who should give him most wounds they cut his Body all to pieces.

The City of *Edenburgh* hearing of a Tumult at Court, but altogether Ignorant what the matter might be, put themselves suddenly into Arms, and forthwith march to *Holy-rood-house*, the Kings Pallace and the Guard being full of Armed men, the King calleth to them out of a Window, that there was no danger attending them, himself and the Queen being in health and safety, he thanked them for their Care and Readiness, and advised them for the present to return home peaceably to their Houses.

The Day following the Noble men who lately fled into *England* appear (according to a late Summons they had received) to Answer what should be objected against them, no Judge, Accuser nor Witness, appearing against them, they there protest their readiness judicially to Answer all things chargeable upon them, every one returns in Peace to his own Lodging.

The Queen Accompanied with the King, retireth to *Dunbar*, and admitteth *Murray* and *Argyle* into her Favour, and Consult the raising of some Forces to avenge the Death of the Secretary Murther'd in her own presence, the chief of the Murderers were fled into *England*, others into the Mountains, and of the meaner sort some were Fined, some Imprisoned, and some Executed.

Her Majesty soon after upon the 29th. of June is brought to bed of a Young Son our Second *Solomon*, *James* the Sixth, and great State and Solemnity there was at the Christning, where were present Three Ambassadors, One from *England*, and another from *France*, and a Third from the Duke of *Savoy* : but the King being out of the Queens Favour, was not admitted to the Solemnity, but repairing to his Fathers house fell Sick on the way, not without suspicion of Poyson, there he continued languishing until the *January* following, when the Queen went to visit him, and all differences being made up, he resolved though not well, to return with her to *Edenburgh*, where Lodgings remote from the Noise of the Pallace, for Quiet, Privacy, and such like Convenience, (as it was said) were provided for him, but he had not staid here above a Fortnight before his Lodgings were blown up with Gunpowder, though it was supposed that he was Murther'd before in his Bed, his Body being found in a little Garden by his Lodging in the Kirk-

1566

Kirk-field within the City of *Edenburgh*, Cloathed with nothing but his Shirt, his other Cloaths and Slippers laid by him, but not a Bone of him broken, no bruise nor blackness was seen upon him, nor any alteration of that kind appeared in his Body, which was also free from all smell of Fire or Powder.

The News of this Murther amazed all, and astonished the Afflicted Queen almost to Death, then lying at *Holy-rood-house*, and there was nothing but Sadness to be seen in the Faces of all men, every one crying out upon *Murray* and *Morton*, as the Contrivers of this Horrid Murther, which *Murray* perceiving, cunningly endeavoureth to transfer the Guilt upon *Bothwell*, by the secret surmises of some (whereof there were a great many) of his Emissaries, and causeth Papers to be scattered about the City for that purpose, not without some Reflections on the Queen.

*Bothwell* sensible of the weight of this Burden thrown upon him, earnestly Laboureth with *Argyle* the Justice-General of the Kingdom to Discover if it were possible, both the Contrivers and Actors of the Horrible Murder, all imaginable Enquiry was made, but nothing found. *Lennox* at the instigation of *Murray*, perswades the Queen to bring *Bothwell* to Tryal, *Bothwell* receives Commands from the Queens Majesty to appear before the Justice-General, and a Jury of his Peers are appointed in Order



Order to his Tryal upon the Twelfth of April, the High Court of Justice meets, and all Persons concern'd have due and timely Notice given them. *Bothwell* is Empannelled, and notwithstanding *Lennox* his Protestation against the hasty Proceedings of the Court, alledging he had not time to prepare his Evidence, *Bothwell* is Acquitted by his Peers, but this Acquittance did not so much disburden him of the King's Murther, as it loaded him with his Enemies Malice.

His Ruin and the Queens too, are still contriving, and as a more Politick Method than that of Slander, *Bothwell* is Advanced in his Reputation, and cryed up not so much by his Friends as his Enemies, for a man of the greatest Gallantry in the Nation, and in the Court he is Exalted to the Skies, though amongst the Popularity by the same Authors debased to Hell. The Queen herself made sensible of his Worth, and the many Extraordinary Services he had done her, begins to shew him more than ordinary Favour, *Murray* tells the Queen That there was a Necessity for her to Marry, and that to some Peer of the Realm, of Worth and Valour, Times being so Tumultuous and Stubborn that they could not bear the Government of a Woman, far less of a Stranger, and therefore she must not think of a Foreigner, nay some Report, that *Murray* himself whispers her in the Ear, That *Bothwell* was the fittest, the only Man indeed



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to make her an Husband, *Bothwell* in the meant time put on by peridious perswasions on all hands to attempt this Royal Match, is much perplexed between Ambition and Fear, durst not listen to it, most of the Nobility subscribe an Instrument in which they declare their Desires and Assent to the Marriage with the Queen, Protesting that they would maintain him in it, with their Lives and Estates in despite of all who should oppose it, and assuring him that the Queen her self would approve of what they had done. This Instrument gave more Spirit to his Pride, and his Ambition suggested to him that the Queen designed her Favours as Indications of her Love, and Invitations to his belief of it, whereupon he resolves with himself being now Divorced from his Lady, to Attempt the Marriage of the Queen, to that end he Seiseth on her Person in her return from *Sterling* to *Edinburgh*, and with a Guard of 500 Horse, carrieth her to *Dunbar*, the Queen Enraged with his Rudeness, Check'd him with all the Favours Conferred on him, chargeth him with the highest Ingratitude and Disloyalty. *Bothwell* with all Submission acknowledgeth his Offence; beseeching her that nothing could have moved him to forget that Obedience and Reverence due to her Sacred Majesty save the Force and Impulse of Love, not lightly begun but kindled and kindly Cherished by Sage Counsels, and Desires of most of the Loyal Nobility.

The Queen more suddenly now surprized than before, Expresseth her dislike of the Motion, though with some abatement of her Wrath, she being now under his Power from whence she knew not how to be delivered at present, the Earl produceth the Instrument subscribed by the Noblemen, declaring their desires and assents to the Marriage, then the Queen thirsting after her Liberty with a more serene Aspect, told him that nothing could be done in a matter of that Concernment unless she had her wonted Freedom, and the Nobility Liberty of Access to her, *Bothwell* perceiving that this was all that could be obtained of her, takes off his Guard, and honourably attends her to *Edenburgh*, and the Queen peaceably resorts with a very Noble Train to the Council Chamber, where most of the Nobility Advise her to listen to *Bothwell*, whereunto when she had given her Consent by vertue of their Counsels, and fastned her Affections upon him, every where by the underhand dealings of its Contrivers, the People are suborned and encouraged to Cry out against the Match, but notwithstanding the Clamors of the People, and the forwardness of *John Craig* Minister of the Parish, who refused to publish the Banns, and Protested against the Marriage; it was Celebrated upon the Fifteenth of May, in the Pallace of *Holy-rood-house*, by *Adam* Bishop of *Orkney*, after the manner of the Reformed Church.

And now their Enemies begin to appear more open Fac'd, for the prevention of their designed Mischiefs, the Queen desired the Nobility to renew their Engagement which they had formerly Subscribed, the King and Queen promising the Restipulation of their Protection, which was accordingly done, *Murray* only refuses to Subscribe the Bond, and gets leave to go into *France*, having first set some on work again to Embroyl the State, and to Blow up the Coals of Rebellion, the chief of them were the Earls of *Arguile*, *Morton*, *Marre*, *Athol*, *Glencarne*, and the Lords *Lindsey* and *Boyd*, but *Arguile* Repents him of the Confederacy, returns to his Obedience and discovers the whole Design to the Queen: The others adjoyning to themselves the Lord *Hume* and others of the South, on the sudden they raise an Army of Two Thousand Horse, and closely Besieged the Castle of *Borthwick*, wherein the King and Queen lay, who next day happily Escaped, the Queen putting her self under the disguise of mans habit, came to *Dunbar*, where they Secured themselves in the Castle, and thither resorted divers of the Loyal Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty, for the Safety of the Queen, who resolves to Advance with her Forces towards *Leith* to disturb her Enemies then ranting at *Etenburgh*.

They hearing of the Queens measures, forthwith March, and nigh *Musselburgh* came in sight of the Queens Forces. The Armies lying in  
View



View of each other and ready to joyn in Battel, the *French* Ambassadour interposeth himself, and endeavours a Pacification, assuring the Lords of the Queens Gracious Inclinations to them, and that she was ready to Pardon and Pass an Act of Oblivion for all that was past.

They Insolently Replyed, ' That they came ' not to Crave her Favour, Nor (said *Glencorn*) ' to Ask Pardon, but rather to give it. The *French* Ambassador seeing no hopes of an Accommodation, retires to *Edenburgh*: the Queens Army begins to Divide and grow Mutinous, the Queen sends a Messenger to the Conspirators, desiring them to send *William Kircady* the Laird of *Grange*, to whom she purposed to make some Overtures of Peace, and in the mean while no Acts of Hostility were to be offer'd, *Kircady* is sent, and the Cessation Agreed to, *Bothwell* returns to *Dunbar*, and the Queen offers to come into the Adverse Army, assurance being given her, ' That her Army should ' March off and Return without Molestation ' to their severall Homes or respective Habitations.

They Accord to this, and the deserted Queen very debasingly Attir'd comes into the Rebels Quarter, where she was entertained with such Scorn and Contempt, with such Vile and Opprobrious Language from the Soldiers, as is neither Tolerable nor Fit to be mentioned. One Banner they had Contrived with the Picture of  
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1567.

the Dead King, and the Infant King *James* by him, with this Inscription, *Judge and Revenge my Cause O Lord!* This they carried upon Two Spears before her wherever she went, until at last her Spirits over-burdened with Grief, sank under it and she dyed away, and being revived and refreshed, they renewed their Insolencies towards her, and in Triumph carried her into *Edenburgh*, all bespattered with Gore and Reproach, and her Face so bedaubed with Dust and her own Tears which she had plentifully shed, that she was indeed a most rueful and deplorable Spectacle to behold, and all who had any sparks of Loyalty or Sense of Duty in them, are much Afflicted at the Sight; that Night she was sent to *Craigmillars* Lodgings, who was then Provost of the Town, the next day she is Conveyed by *Ruthen* and *Lindsey* to *Lochevix* Castle, a Place Encompassed with waters on every side for nigh well a Mile.

*Bothwell* during the time of the Queens Discourse with *Kircady*, makes his Escape first into *Orkney*, and from thence into *Scotland*. The Conspirators send to the Imprisoned Queen, and require her to Resign the Crown in Favour of her Son; and to name Guardians for him during his Minority, the distressed Queen is forced to yield to all that they had Confidence to Demand; She was through Fear and Flattery induced to a Resignation of the Crown under her Hand, subscribing the Writ with Tears flowing from her Eyes, the Tuition of her  
Young

Young Son is Committed to *James* Earl of *Murray*, *John* Duke of *Castle-Roy*, to the Earls of *Lennox*, *Arguile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Glencarn* and *Marre*, *James* Earl of *Murray* is by this time returned from his Retirement in *France*, and by these Lords he is Chosen Vice-Roy, and the Young King now Two Years of Age, is Crowned at *Sterlin*.

*Murray* is Confirmed in his Government as Vice-Roy in a Parliament Assembled, *August 25*. and the first Essay of his Power is against *Bothwell*, who now lay lurking with some few Ships about *Orkney*: *Kircaly* is sent against him, who upon Intelligence fled into *Denmark*, and there miserably ended his Days, but with his last Breath Cleared the Queen of all Consent, Privity, or Knowledge of the King's Death, as did also *Hepborn*, *Paris*, *Daglish*, and other Servants of *Bothwell*, that were put to Death by *Murray* for the Murder, who upon the Gallows charged it upon *Murray* and *Morton*, as the Conspirators with *Bothwell*.

1568.

Some Ambassadors arrive in *Scotland* from *England* and *France*, and desire Admittance to the Queen, but are peremptrorily denyed it by the Vice-Roy, the hard Usage of the Queen, and the Insolence of that Ill Woman the Mother of the Vice-Roy was such, that many even of her Enemies who knew the Truth of it, were bowed into a Compassion towards her, and began to contrive some

Expedient for her Liberty, which the Queen her self not long after by her own Wisdom and Prudence, brought to pass. Guarded and Watched she was by the Vice-Roy's nearest Allies and trustiest Servants, his Mother and Three Brothers, which were of another Father, had the Charge of her, in a Place impregnable, and out of which an Escape had been impossible considering the breadth of the Lake that encompassed it, had not God turned the hearts of some of her Enemies towards her, such was her Deportment in that grievous Restraining, and her Meek and Chearful entertainment of all Affronts put upon her by the Vice-Roy's Mother, That one of the Sons, Half-Brother to the Vice-Roy, endued with some Principles of Ingenuity, and in whom were some Remains of Loyalty: out of a sense of Duty towards the Queen, begs her Pardon for all past, and her Favour for the future, promising his Service in order to her Freedom. A Boat is forthwith prepared, and with a few that were made privy to the Honest Design, the Queen escapeth April 5. 1568. the Guard in vain endeavour to pursue after her, all other Boats about the Castle, being by the Contrivers of the Escape made unserviceable, the Queen safely Arrives on the Shore, where Lord Seaton with some few Horse were ready to receive her, the first Night she is Lodged privately at Nudrie in West-Lothian, and from thence the next day she goes to Hamilton, where a considerable Number of the Nobility and Gentry meets her

1568.

her in Arms, and a great many of her Enemies Revolt from the Vice-Roy, and return to their Obedience.

The Vice-Roy forthwith Advanceth with an Army against her, and in a Battel at *Landside near Glascom*, the Queens Forces are overthrown, her self for Safety is forced to fly into *England* to shelter her self under the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, her nearest Cousin. 1568.

The Regent or Vice-Roy, after his Victory packeth a Parliament, wherein divers of the Queens Friends and Adherents are declared Traytors, and their Estates Confiscate. Himself Marcheth into divers Places of the Kingdom, spoils and lays wast, and demollisheth the Houses and Castles of such as continued in their Loyalty.

Queen *Elizabeth* hearing of the Scotch Queens Refuge into *England*, Commanded her by a Condoling Letter to stay at the Lord *Scroops* House until she had further Order from her, and in the interim writeth to the Vice-Roy of the danger of the Example, in which all the Kings and Crowns of the World were concern'd, and desiring some Commissioners might be sent to her to give her a full Account of all their Proceedings against their Queen.



The Vice-Roy having the *French* King his Enemy already, durst not run the hazard of Offending the *Queen of England* too, whereas now his Friend, in whose displeasure he might plainly read his own Destruction, he resolveth to gratifie the *Queen of England*, and to send Commissioners to shew her the best Prospect of the Story: but the Nobility ashamed of the thing, refuse to be sent upon so Unworthy and Dishonourable a Message, or to be Employed in a matter so detestable, he resolves himself to undertake it, which accordingly he did, Accompanied with one or two of the *Rebellious Nobility*, and *George Buchanan* a devoted Slave to the Vice-Roy, whose heart did as much thirst after the Blood of the *Queen*, as ever his Venomous Pen had Suifited it self in the pollution of her Sacred Name, which so wounded his gangered Conscience, when it was too late, That he Craved of God no longer time to Live, than he might be able to Cure those Sores, and Salve those Wounds which himself had made in the Fame and Reputation of that Good and Vertuous Queen.

1568. The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Suffex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Commissioners for the *Queen of England*, give them a Meeting at *York*, whither likewise repaired some Agents for the Exiled *Queen*, who gave their Audience, Protesting that they did not appear there before the *English* Commissioners as competent Judges to determine or give Sentence in the Affairs of their

their Sovereign Lady; but rather as in the presence of Friends and Neighbours to convince them of the unparalleld Wrongs and Injuries done to the Person and Honour of their Queen, (through whose sides they had wounded all the Kings and Supream Magistrates in the World) and to Crave the Assistance of the *English* Queen, her nighest Kinswoman in the World, either to persuade her Rebellious Subjects to receive her again as their Sovereign, and restore her to all the Rights and Priviledges of her Crown; or that failing, to grant her so considerable Forces as might be able to reduce them to Order and Obedience, which would be a Concession no less Honourable to the Queen of *England*, than Profitable to the Queen of *Scotland*.

As a Counterpoize to this Protestation, the *English* Commissioners do also Protest, That they allowed not of that Protestation to the Prejudice of the Superiority that the Kings of *England* had always Claimed over the Kings of *Scotland*, which now belonged to the Queen their Mistress in the Right of the Crown of *England*. Then they proceeded to the Business; the Commissioners for the Exiled Queen first laid open all the Grievances and Wrongs that were thrown upon her, and under which she now laboured in a Languishing Exile. The Commissioners for the Young King (in whose Name the Commission ran) recriminate and highly Charge the Queen (no ways

ways Accountable to them) supposing or hoping the *English* Commissioners to have Power to pass Sentence against their Queen, in case they could by any means make them believe her Guilty of those things they Charge her withal. But being frustrate in these Hopes, and hearing every Article of the Charge distinctly and fully Answered by their Queens Commissioners, the Vice-Roy contends, That nothing was done, which in the like Cases had not been done by their Predecessors, and their late proceedings being Confirmed by Act of Parliament, they were now past recall, and could not be Abrogated by any private person whatsoever, whereby he imagined that he had prevented all Arguments that might be offered for a Peaceable Reception of the Queen to her Rights, which were now alienated by Act of Parliament.

But the *English* Commissioners not satisfied with these things; they urge That the true Causes of such rigorous Proceedings with their Queen might be produced; the knowledge whereof was the end of their present Meeting. The Vice-Roy having nothing else to offer, desired that first, the Queen of *England* would Engage for the Tuition of their Young King, Letters are sent to Acquaint the Queen with this motion: Her Majesty desires two Commissioners of the Vice-Roy's Faction to be sent to her to *London*, to inform her more clearly in the whole matter. Two Commissioners are accordingly

dingly sent *Metellane* and *Markgill*: but the Queen upon second Thoughts judgeth it necessary that the Regent himself be there, who repairs to *London*, where after much Debate before the Queen and the Council, at last the Commissioners are dismissed, and no more Determined at *London* than at *York*.

The Vice-Roy returns home, and not long after the Lord *Boyd* brings Letters from both Queens to the *Scots* Parliament, wherein the Queen of *England* makes a Threefold Overture in behalf of *Queen Mary*: First, That she might be restored to her former Government, or this not Granted, That in the second place she might be admitted to Reign in Title only, in Conjunction with her Son, and the Exercise of the Regal Power to rest still in the Vice-Roy until the Young King came to Seventeen Years of Age, and if they would not do that, in the third place, She might have free Liberty to return safely into her own Countrey (if it should seem good to her) and to Live a Retir'd and Private Life, having an Honourable Maintenance allowed her.

1569

The former Two were peremptorily Denied, and the Last had never been yielded to, but that they were well assured that the Queen would never Accept of it.

The Queen of *Scotland's* Proposals were likewise Read, desiring them to Appoint certain

1569.

certain Judges to take her Marriage with *Bothwell* into Cognisance, That if it did appear Unlawful, that it might be accordingly adjudged and annulled. The Letter is Debated, but no Answer returned, only this Concluded, That the Queen of *England* be first Advertised, with a Suggestion, that this Motion tended only to make way for her Marriage to the Duke of *Norfolk*, wherein her Majesty of *England* was indeed much concerned. A Messenger is dispatched with the Parliaments Resolves concerning both Letters: at his Arrival the Queen of *England* was Offended that they should send so mean and inconsiderable a Person to Treat with Her of so great and important Affairs as the Rights of Princes, he being one *Wood* a Domestick of the Regents: He returning in a disgust another is sent, *Pitcarne* Abbot of *Dunsterling*, no sooner was he entred the *English* Court, but the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent to the *Tower*, and all the Intrigue of Marriage with the Queen of *Scotland* discovered, *Pitcarne* is respectfully Treated, and freely heard in behalf of the Regent, and at last is sent home with Thanks for many Offices done, and Assurance of all Favour and Assistance to the Vice-Roy. Which Success of their Messlage so puffed up the Faction and so animated *Murray*, that the Government became intolerable, and so uneasie to some, that Exasperated with Fear, Rage and Revenge, resolved upon the Ruin of the Regent whatever were the result of the Attempt: and



and accordingly as the Vice-Roy road through *Linlithgow*, in his Expedition to the Borders with some few Troops of Horse, one *James Hamilton* discharges a Pistol upon him, and lodging a Bullet in his Bowels in some few Hours it put a period to his Life, *Hamilton* safely Escaping by a Postern Dore.

The Vice-Roy thus surpris'd with Death, put all things into a new Confusion, the Queens Party begin to stir, but to little purpose, they being Awed and Checked, and the Adverse Party Encouraged and Strengthened by the Assistance of the Earl of *Sussex*, and Sir *William Drury*, Commanders in Chief for Queen *Elizabeth*, upon the Borders of *England*. So that the Queens Friends dare not put her Affairs to the Issue of a Battel; in the mean time the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadors press Queen *Elizabeth* to be more Kind and Favourable to her Cousin the Queen of *Scotland*, whom now she had made a Close Prisoner. The Imprisoned Queen no less incessantly and importunately prayeth for her Self by her Letters in Writing (wherein she had a most Excellent Faculty, as those Copies do make undeniably evident) the grand matter of her Request was for a fair hearing before her own Person.

Queen *Elizabeth* sendeth to *Scotland*, giving the Adverse Faction Notice that she had promised a Conference for Composing, if possible, all Differences, upon condition that the Queens  
Party

Party should not stir nor endeavour a forceable restitution, withal wishing them not to choose a Vice-roy or Regent, until her pleasure was further made known unto them. They not daring to displease Queen *Elizabeth*, on whose favour and relief they depended, and finding the necessity of their Affairs to require a Man in Supream Power and Authority, by a knack of their own invention they choose an *Inter-Roy*, *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, the same in Power, though not in Name with *Vice-Roy*: Queen *Elizabeth* soon after adviseth them to constitute him *Vice-Roy* accordingly as they had formerly done to *Murray*.

1570. Which being effected, the New *Vice-Roy* sendeth the Earl of *Morton*, *Pitcarne*, and *Mackgill*; to the Conference appointed by Queen *Elizabeth*, with the *French*, and *Spanish* Ambassadors:

In this Conference Queen *Elizabeth*, had the patience (to the astonishment of all wise and honest men) to hear the rights of the Crown of *Scotland* (pretended by *Morton* to be Elective) and her highest Kinswoman infinitely defamed and calumniated, that tender priviledge of all Princes, or Supream Magistrates, (*viz.*) the immunity of their Sacred Persons from Capital Censures by Courts of their own Subjects, not only disputed but enveighed against and condemned: a Topick doubtless very ungrateful to her, as being equally concerned in it, had her *English* Subjects been then of the same *Rebellious* tem-  
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per that the *Scots* were: at the conclusion of this Conference the Queen declared that she had received no satisfaction either in the general Argument, or in the particular Case of their Queen, and therefore desired that they would hearken to an accommodation of all differences between them and their Queen.

This was peremptorily refused by them as not being impowred by their Commission, and the matter it self being a Subject proper for the General Council of the Kingdom, after much debate, and some overtures made by the Queen for a Reconciliation, the Commissioners returned home; nothing at all being effected for the distressed Queen, whom in truth Queen *Elizabeth* thought it not safe to enlarge. This nullity of proceedings left all things in confusion, the *English* Embassador Sir *William Drury*, labouring for a Cessation of Arms between both parties who had had many bikerings and skirmishes to the effusion of much blood, until at last the Regent is killed in a surprize at *Sterlin*, by a Party of the Lord *Hamiltons*, and in his stead the Earl of *Marre* is chosen Vice-roy, who by his single Valour defended the Castle of *Sterlin*, Repulsed the Enemy, and Rescued the Prisoners that *Hamilton* was carrying away, in which Rescue *Morton* was Killed by a Bullet that had pierced his Bowels, in the midst of this general Combustion, which filled all places with fears and dangers. Gods Providence preserved the Young King now lodged in the Castle at *Sterlin*,

1570.

1571.

*lin*, the Scene of the present Warlike transaction.

1572. About this time the Duke of *Norfolk* that had been quitted the *Tower* upon his Confession and Submission, and charging *Leicester* with unfaithfulness in the matter, relapsing into the same misdemeanors, was remanded to the *Tower*: Arraigned before his Peers, proved guilty of Treason, and Executed; who upon his death bewailed his breach of promise to the Queen, that had before graciously Pardoned him, and contrary to his word, had again without the privity or leave of his Sovereign dealt with *Queen Mary* about Marriage, and such weighty fairs, but disowned all kindness for the *Romish* Religion, and declared himself to die a Son of the Church of *England*.

The death of the Duke (when the distressed Queen in all her Letters to *Queen Elizabeth*, had endeavoured to excuse) was no small aggravation of her sorrow, and for his sake or his Affection to her she fears the worse, and is now more closely imprisoned than before: and by her confinement her Health is daily more impaired, of which she sends many sad accounts to the Queen; but to no purpose.

1580.

But to consummate her misery, after all this one *Ballard* an English Priest with divers Gentlemen, Conspire the death of *Queen Elizabeth*, and the enlargement of *Queen Mary*, *Babington*

a Gentleman of exceeding good Parts, writes to *Queen Mary* a full account of the design they had, the Letter came safe to the hands of her two Secretaries *Man* and *Curle*; who knowing the averſeneſs of their Lady the Queen to ſuch wicked and deteſtable deſigns dare do no otherwiſe than conceal the Letter from her, and themſelves return an Answer to it, wherein they give all the life and encouragement to the project imaginable and to this they counterfeit the Queens Majeſties Name. *Babington* preſuming it was the Queens Hand, ſheweth the Letter to divers whom he ſuppoſed he might truſt, and at laſt he commits that and all other their Papers to the truſt of one *Gifford*, who immediately carried them all to *Walsingham*, Queen *Elizabeths* Secretary, who upon the peruſal of them diſcovers the whole Plot; the Letter ſuppoſed to be *Queen Mariess* own, he Communicates it to *Queen Elizabeth* and her Council, who immediately iſſue out Warrants for the apprehending of the Conſpirators, amongſt the firſt of theſe was *Babington* taken, and being examined touching his intercourſe with *Queen Mary*, confeſſed that he had treated on that unhappy ſubject with her, which falſehood he ſuppoſed indeed to be truth, being impoſed upon by the Forgery of her Secretaries. After Examination and Conviction, they are all Condemned, and Executed as Traytors.

1585.

Upon this diſcovery *Queen Mary* is ſtill more cloſely imprifoned in *Fotheringham* Caſtle, and

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the Guards set upon her are doubled, her Secretaries taken from her and imprisoned, and *Queen Elizabeth* herself by Letter gave her notice, that she had given Commission to her Council of State to hear her in Judgment upon the Fact, with which she was accused; the same day *Thomas Bromeley*, Knight, Lord Chancellor, and *William Lord Burleigh*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, came to her and declared what Power they had given them in their Commission, and desired her that she would calmly hear her Accusation, and what were the Facts where-with she was Charged, otherwise they both could and would proceed against her for Contempt: to which she made Answer, That she was no Subject, and that she would choose rather to Dye a thousand times than by such an Acknowledgment bring a Prejudice upon her Royal Majesty. The Commissioners do still insist upon the Tenor of their Commission; She demanded by what Law Civil or Canon, they would proceed against her? they said, By the Law of *England*. Which you have made (said she) on purpose to Trap and Ensnare me, to which I am not subject, nor bound to submit. *Hatton* the Queens Vice-Chamberlain pressed her still to Plead for her self, and to remove the supposed Guilt, assuring her nothing could be matter of greater Joy to *Queen Elizabeth*, than that she should Clear her Self of that Horrid Conspiracy, whereof she stood Accused. *Queen Mary* proposes an Appeal to a Parliament, promising to Answer there to the

the whole Charge, knowing ( as she said ) that their Commission was only designed as a Net to Catch her in, and Entrap her Innocence. Then said the Treasurer we will proceed to the Contempt, if you do ( replied the Queen ) Examine your own Consciences, and provide for your Honours, so God render to you and your Children, as you shall proceed against me in this Judgement.

The next Morning she sent for one of the Commissioners to know if her Protestation against their Power or Authority to Try her ( she being no Subject but a Free and Absolute Prince ) were Recorded, if it were she could then Justifie her self without any Prejudice to Royal Dignity, or the Crown of *Scotland*, in particular ; hereupon the Commissioners all do Assemble ( but *Shrewsbury* and *Warwick*, who were Sick ) in the Chamber of Pretence, where was the Seat-Royal under a Cloth of State to represent the Majesty of *Queen Elizabeth*, and upon the one side of it a Chair of Crimson Velvet for *Queen Mary* : after a Speech made by *Bromley* the Lord Chancellor, her Charge is Read, wherein she is Accused of Conspiring the Death of *Queen Elizabeth*, the Destruction of the Realm, and the Subversion of the Establish'd Religion. This done the Queens Lawyers do most furiously Charge her with all imaginable Aggravations of the Crime : but of all that they produced against her to Convince her of the Crimes charged

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upon her, nothing stuck upon her or pinched her save the Letter to *Babington*, whereunto her hand was set; *Babington* upon his Examination acknowledged his Correspondence with her, and that he had received that Letter from her. *Man* and *Curle* her Secretaries did Depose, That she dictated it unto them, and with her own Hand had Subscribed it. To what *Babington* had Deposed she Protested in the Presence of the great God, that she never received any Letter from, nor writ any Letter to the said *Babington*, neither ever was she made privy to, or knew of any written to or from him.

As to the Deposition of the Secretaries, if any such Deposition be made by them, it is said she, in the Presence of God, a most Traiterous and Wicked Calumny in them, who being my Secretaries are therefore of all men the most perfidious in the World: I desire my Secretaries who are now Witnesses against me, may be brought into my Presence where I am Confident, that they dare not Adhere to any such Deposition pretended to be made by them. Her Secretaries ( who in the Judgment of most unbiass'd men were corrupted with Money ) were never produced nor brought into her Presence, yet under the weight of their Testimonies was this Illustrious Princess crush'd a pieces: upon their Testimonies did the Commissioners proceed to give Sentence against her, and accordingly after long Debates and Consultations, Sentence was pronounced; which

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*Émanuel-*  
*um qui pre-*  
*tio Corrupti*  
*videbantur,*  
*testimonio,*  
*oppressa est.*  
*Camb. p.*  
493.

was immediately carried to Queen *Elizabeth*, and presented to the Parliament then sitting at *Westminster*, for publication of it, where the Sentence of Death was Confirmed, and *Beal* after some demurr upon it, was sent by Queen *Elizabeth* to Acquaint the Condemned Queen with the Mournful Sentence of her Death, and to tell her, That the Estates of the Realm met in Parliament had Approved and Confirmed it, and demanded speedy Execution of the Sentence for Justice, Security and Necessity; which sad News she received with more than a Masculine Courage or Greatness of Mind, Praising God for all his Dispensations towards her, and Acknowledging his Favours, she desired a Priest to Administer the Sacrament unto her, and in all things to Assist her for a due Preparation, and Christian Dispose to Dye.

The Cloth of State in her Chamber is beaten down by her Guard, and all Marks of Royalty are taken from her: but the Execution of the Sentence is for a time delayed by Queen *Elizabeth*. In the mean time the Condemned Queen writes to Queen *Elizabeth*, Requesting Three Things of her, First, That she being Dead, her Body might be Transported into *France* to be Buried there nigh the Ashes of her dear Mother. Secondly, That she might not suffer clancularly, but in the presence of her Servants. And Lastly, That they might all peaceably Enjoy those small Legacies, which her Poor and Exiled Condition was capable of Bequeathing them.

Neither was King *James* all this time remiss in his Endeavours to procure his Mothers Deliverance, both by Persuasions and Communications if any way it might be Effected, to whom the *French* King joyned Endeavours, urging it with Reasons of greatest Moment. That it was a Business so detestable, that it was without Example to put an Anointed Sovereign into the hands of the Common Hangman; that it was an Example of Dangerous Consequence, thus to Prostitute Sovereignty to the Wills of Rebels: That the Condemned Queen was not only her nearest Kinswoman, but her Guest, invited by her with Promise of Protection, and in Assurance of it had taken Shelter under her Scepter: neither would it have been denyed her by any Christian Prince. That the Crime committed was done by her Secretaries and not by her, and therefore Injustice not to be Charged upon her, but them. That if this Sentence were Executed, all Christian Kings would believe all their Honours and Rights wounded in that blow: and would accordingly resent it and Avenge it. That her only Son King *James*, could never in Honour or Duty set down quiet under such an Affront. And in fine, That Heaven it self must needs Arm against so Bloody a Design; and therefore they adjure her by all the Love she bears unto her self, by all the Respects she bears to her own People the Nation of *England*, that she forbear the Execution. And if she feared any Eyil by  
her



her Life, to preserve her under the Power of strong Guards, of which she could not want plenty in *England*, if she would not accept of their Security for her Peaceable behaviour.

But as an over-pressing Argument to all these the Enemies of *Queen Mary*, that were continually present with *Queen Elizabeth*, beat it into her Ears, that the Lives of *Elizabeth* and *Mary* were things incompatible, and for the Safety of one, it was necessary to take away the other, which otherwise would be a perpetual Sting to her, *Sed mortua non mordet*, the Grave was the securest Prison she could be committed unto. *Queen Elizabeth* at last Signs the Warrant for Execution, which being past the Broad-Seal, She next day sends *Kiligrew* to *Davison* to forbid the Command of Execution, telling him she would go another way to work, but the Lords of the Council being Acquainted with it, they without the Consent of the *Queen* wrested it from *Davison*, and sent *Beale* their Clark with the Mandate, and Letters to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, and *Cumberland*, to see the same performed, which was the only thing that *Queen Elizabeth* had to offer in her own Excuse to King *James*, Protesting that it was done without her Knowledge, and quite contrary to her Intent, having, as she said, told *Davison* her Secretary, her Resolution of taking New Measures, and that the Warrant was to have remained in his hand without Execution, unless a Foreign Invasion or Do-

\* Upon the  
News of  
Signing the

mestick broyls, which Queen *Mary's* Enemies always suggested were daily designed, should render it necessary. *Davison* for his Disobedience, was Committed, and cast out of Favour. \*

*Warrant for Execution, King James Commanded the Ministers to remember the Queen Mother in their Prayers, which they generally refused to do, tho' the Form prescribed them, was Pious and Christian, being after this manner : That it may please God to illuminate Her with the Light of his Truth, and to Save her from the apparent danger wherein she was cast.*

Feb. 7.  
1586.

No sooner came the Order to the hands of the Noblemen, than they repaired to *Fotheringham* Castle, the Prison where the Queen lay, and raising her out of her Bed in the Morning, they read their Commission to her, Adverting her That next day Morning she was to Dye, which Order she receiv'd without any discomposure of Mind or change of Countenance, saying, She did not think that her Sister Queen *Elizabeth* would have brought her to that Extremity : but seeing it was her pleasure she was willing to submit, Appealing to Heaven and Earth, to witness her Innocence, adding that it was her Comfort that she dyed for and in the Religion of her Fore-fathers, beseeching God to increase her Constancy and Courage to the Measure of her Afflictions. After these words she besought the Commissioners that she might be permitted to Confer with her Confessor, which was denied her, tending unto her in his stead the Bishop or Dean of *Peterborough*, whom she refused, saying,

saying, God shall be my Comforter. One of the Commissioners, the Earl of *Kent*, told her, your life will be the death, and your death the life of our Religion : I thank you, said she, that I am thought worthy to dye for my Religion. After that the Commissioners were retired, she commanded her servants that Supper should be dispatched, and according to her usual custom she Supped soberly, and discoursed to such as were about her with a marvellous calmness and tranquillity of mind ; at the end of Supper she drank to all her servants with a grave and modest chearfulness, at which they all fell upon their knees, mingling floods of Tears with their Wine, so soon as they were able to speak, having a little digested their sorrow, they craved her pardon for their remissness in those duties and services her Majesty had deserved at their hands, and she desired them likewise to forget all her defects and failings towards them, comforting them, with an invincible courage ; and commanded them to wipe away their Tears, and to rejoyce with her for that she was now to be delivered from an abyis of misery.

After Supper she wrote three Letters, one to the King of *France*, another to the Duke of *Guise*, and a third to her Confessor : this done she took a review of her Last Will, which she had before committed to writing, and caused an Inventory of her Goods to be Read ; and wrote down the names of those to whom she had bestowed her Wardrobe, she also distributed mony to some with her own hand, afterwards

wards she retired herself, and being refreshed with a little sleep, she spent the rest of the night in Watching and Prayer.

Feb. 8.  
1587.

The next morning being the eighth of *February*, she drest and adorned herself with such of Apparel and Ornaments as she usually wore on Festival days, and having again assembled her servants, she caused her Will again to be Read to them, desiring them to take in good part those poor Legacies she had bequeathed to them, the condition of her Estate not permitting her to give them any greater: She took her last farewell of them to fear God, to love one another, and to be stedfast in the Faith, and to Pray for her Soul: she kissed the women, and permitted the men to kiss her hand: and then returned to her Oratory, where she continued in Prayer, until *Thomas Andrews* the Lieutenant of the County signified unto her that her hour was come, and it was time to come forth, which she soon obeyed, and in a posture full of Majesty, and a Countenance very joyful, the Commissioners received her in a Gallery, where they did attend her, there likewise *Melvin* her Steward did present himself before her, and weeping fell on his knees to receive her last commands: *Melvin*, said she, weep not, but rather rejoyce, for this day you shall see *Mary Stuart* delivered from all her sorrows, and I adjure you to tell my Son, that I have always lived, and now I dye a Catholick, and that I exhort him to preserve the Faith of his Ancestors, to love Justice

Justice, and to maintain his people in Peace, and to Enterprize nothing against the Queen of *England*. I have committed nothing against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and I always loved *France*, God forgive them who have thirsted after my blood: then turning to the Lords she requested that her servants after her death might be civilly used, suffered to attend her person in the time of her death, and then to enjoy peaceably those poor Legacies she had bequeathed them: the Earl of *Kent* opposed her servants Attendance, yet the passionate desires of the poor Queen, prevailed with the rest of the Lords to permit six of them to wait on her to the Scaffold, with this train came she into the Hall hung with black, and ascended the Scaffold covered with black also: and sat her down in a Chair prepared for her.

*Beal* read the Warrant for Execution, which she heard very Patiently, the Dean of *Peterborough* endeavoured to persuade her, at last to relinquish the *Roman*, and embrace the *Reformed Religion*, for the Eternal good of her Soul: She besought him to forbear, being Resolved to Dye in the Faith of the *Roman Church*.

Then turning to the People she Protested before God that she had not Attempted any thing against the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, nor any other thing deserving Death: after some few words more touching Religion, her Eyes gushed full of Tears, which were sympathetically



cally Answer'd with Tears by all that beheld the Tragedy, *Three* or *Four* only in all that Concourse that could be Excepted.

The Executioner desired her Pardon ; I Pardon thee ( said she ) and all my Persecutors, after she had kneeled down, and Prayed with extream fervency, concluding her Devotions in these words : *As thy Arms Lord Jesus were stretched out upon the Cross, so receive me O Jesus into the stretched forth Arms of thy Mercy.* And after this she disposed her self for the Block, her Maids having undressed her, she laid open the most Beautiful Neck that ever received so merciless a Blow ; then she signed her Attendants with the Sign of the Cross, and having kissed them all, she smilingly bids them farewell, at which they poor Souls weep most bitterly, with Sighs and Tears inexpressible, for which she meekly reproved them, saying, Nay what do you mean, do you suffer your selves to be Transported with Grief, notwithstanding you know I am going to Exchange a Temporal Kingdom full of Misery, for an Everlasting Empire filled with all Felicity. After this she covered her Face, and laid her Neck on the Block, saying *in te Domine speravi,* and having repeated once and again, *in manus tuas Domine.* The Executioner gave a Blow, and with it made a dreadful wound in the hinder part of her head, and at two more the Inhuman Butcher severed her head from her Shoulders, saying, *Long Live Queen Elizabeth,*

beth, and so let the Enemies of the Gospel perish. Her poor Heart-broken Servants drew nigh to do their last Office for her, in divesting her Body, and disposing of it for Burial. But the Earl of Kent commanded them to be gone, and ordered her Body to be conveyed to a Chamber in the Castle, where it was locked up.

After Nineteen Years Imprisonment, thus Unfortunatly Dyed the most Beautiful, the most Magnanimous, the most Wise, and most Religious Queen Mary. Her Body was first Buried in the Cathedral Church in Peterborough, and after many Years in the Reign of her Son taken up and buried amongst her Ancestors in Westminster, and by an unknown Author had this Inscription set upon her Tomb in Peterborough.

MARIA Scotorum Regina, regis  
Filia, regis Gallorum vidua, regina  
Angliæ agnata & heres proxima, ver-  
tutibus regiis, & animo regio ornata,  
Jure regio frustra sæpius Implorato,  
barbara & tyrannica crudelitate, or-  
namentum nostri seculi & lumen verè  
regium extinguitur; eodemque nefario  
Judicio, & Maria Scotorum Regina,  
morte

*morte naturali, & omnes superstites reges plebeii facti morte mulctantur hic extat. Cum Sacris enim vive Mariæ cineribus, omnium Regum atq; principium violatam atque prostratam Majestatem hic jacere scito, & quia tacitum regale satis super que reges sui officii monet, plura non addo viter.*

*Translated thus :*

Mary Queen of Scotland, the Daughter of a King, the Widow of the King of France, the near Kinswoman and next Heir to the Queen of England, endued with Princely Vertues, and a Royal Mind; having often, but in vain, implor'd her Regal Right, at length the great Ornament of our Age and the most Sovereign Light of the World is Extinguish'd by a most Barbarous and Tyrannical Cruelty, and by the  
same

same pernicious Sentence, *Mary* the Queen of *Scotland* is punish'd with a Natural Death, and all surviving Monarchs made common Persons, and render'd lyable to the punishment of a Civil Death, a very strange and unaccountable kind of Grave, in which the Living lye Interr'd with the Dead, for with the Ashes of this Blessed *Mary*, know thou that the Majesty of all Crowned Heads lies here depressed and basely violated, But because the Reasons of State do admonish all Kings what is best to do, O Traveller I say no more.

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*F I N I S.*